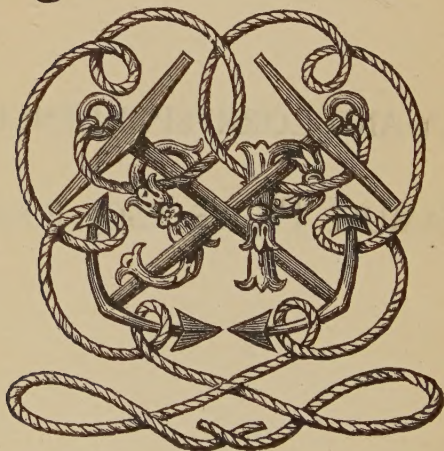


DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ., F.R.S.

cujusque is est
Mens *quisque*





Jacques II

DIARY AND
CORRESPONDENCE
of
Samuel Pepys, Esq., F.R.S.

From His MS. Cypher in the
Pepysian Library

With a Life and Notes by
RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE

Deciphered, with Additional Notes, by
REV. MYNORS BRIGHT, M.A.

President and Senior Fellow of Magdalene
College, Cambridge

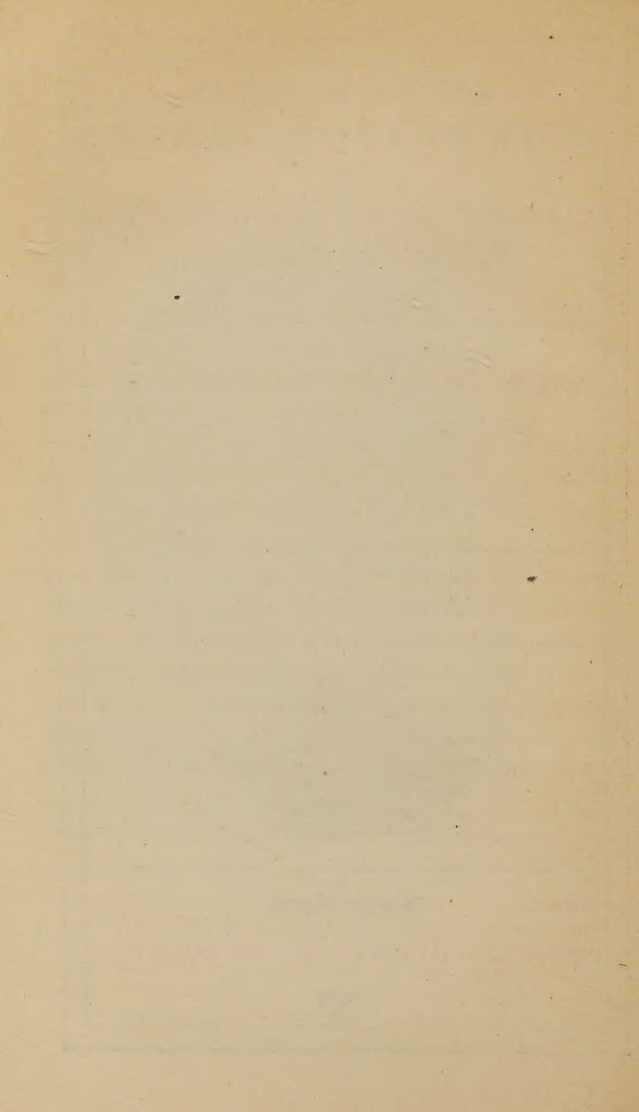
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DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

AUG. 16TH, 1668. (Lord's day.) All the morning at my Office with W. Hewer, there drawing up my Report to the Duke of York, as I have promised, about the faults of this Office, hoping thereby to have opportunity of doing myself something.

17th. To Hampstead, to speak with the Attorney-general,¹ whom we met in the fields, by his old route and house; and after a little talk about our business of Ackeworth, went and saw the Lord Wotton's² house³ and garden, which is wonderfull fine: too good for the house, the gardens are, being, indeed,

¹ Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Bart. He died at his house at Hampstead, 1st May, 1670.

² Poliander de Kirkhoven, Lord of Hemfleet, in Holland, married Katherine, widow of Henry Lord Stanhope, eldest son of Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, who died *vita patris*. She was one of the four daughters and co-heirs of Thomas Lord Wotton; and her son, Charles Henry Kirkhoven, here mentioned, was created Lord Wotton, of Wotton, in Kent, in 1650, by reason of his descent, and Earl of Bellemont, in Ireland, in 1670. He died without issue in 1682.

³ Belsyze House, in the parish of Hampstead, was for many years the residence of the Wood family, as lessees under the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, in whom the property is still vested. When Pepys visited the place, it was the chief seat of Charles Henry Kirkhoven, Lord Wotton, above men-

the most noble that ever I saw, and brave orange and lemon trees. Thence to Mr. Chichly's¹ by invitation, and there dined with Sir John, his father not coming home. And while at dinner comes by the French Ambassador Colbert's mules, the first I ever saw, with their sumpter-clothes mighty rich, and his coaches, he being to have his entry to-day: but his things, though rich, are not new; supposed to be the same his brother² had the other day, at the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle, in Flanders. Thence to the Duke of York's house, and there saw "Cupid's Revenge"³ under the new name of "Love Despised," that hath something very good in it, though I like not the whole body of it. This day the first time acted here.

18th. Alone to the Park; but there were few coaches: among the few, there were our two great beauties, my Lady Castlemaine and Richmond; the first time I saw the latter since she had the small-pox. I had much pleasure to see them, but I thought they were strange one to another.

19th. This week my people wash, over the water, and so I little company at home. Being busy above, a great cry I hear, and go down; and what should it be but Jane, in a fit of direct raving, which lasted half-

tioned. That mansion, long since pulled down, had become, in 1720, a house of public entertainment, and was much in vogue, and continued open as late as 1745. See Lysons's "Environs," and Park's "History of Hampstead."

¹ In Great Queen Street.

² A mistake of Pepys's. Colbert de Croissy, then in England, had himself been the French Plenipotentiary at Aix-la-Chapelle.

³ By Beaumont and Fletcher.

an-hour. It was beyond four or five of our strength, to keep her down; and, when all come to all, a fit of jealousy about Tom, with whom she is in love. So at night, I, and my wife, and W. Hewer called them to us, and there I did examine all the thing, and them, in league. She in love, and he hath got her to promise him to marry, and he is now cold in it, so that I must rid my hands of them, which troubles me. I am vexed also to be told by W. Hewer that he is summoned to the Commissioners of Accounts about receiving a present of 30*l.* from Mr. Mason, the timber merchant, though there be no great harm in it, that will appear on his part, he having done them several faithful kindnesses and never demanded anything, as they themselves have this day declared to the Commissioners.

20th. To work till past twelve at night, that I might get my great letter to the Duke of York ready against to-morrow, which I shall do, to my great content.

21st. Up betimes, and with my people again to work, and finished all before noon: and then I by water to White Hall, and there did tell the Duke of York that I had done; and he hath desired me to come to him at Sunday next in the afternoon, to read the letter over, by which I have more time to consider and correct it. To St. James's; and by and by comes Monsieur Colbert, the French Ambassador, to make his first visit to the Duke of York, and then to the Duchess: and I saw it: a silly piece of ceremony,

he saying only a few formal words. A comely man, and in a black suit and cloak of silk, which is a strange fashion, now it hath been so long left off. This day I did first see the Duke of York's room of pictures of some Maids of Honour, done by Lilly : ¹ good, but not like. Thence to Reeves's, and bought a reading-glass, and so to my bookseller's again, there to buy a Book of Martyrs, ² which I did agree for ; and so away home, and there busy very late at the correcting my great letter to the Duke of York, and so to bed.

22nd. To the Office, where all the morning, and did fall out with Sir W. Pen about his slight performance of his office, and so home to dinner, fully satisfied that this Office must sink or the whole Service be undone. Pretty well at ease, my great letter being now finished to my full content ; and I thank God I have opportunity of doing it, though I know it will set the Office and me by the ears for ever. This morning Captain Cocke comes, and tells me that he is now assured that it is true, what he told me the other day, that our whole Office will be turned out, only me, which, whether he says true or not, I know not, nor am much concerned, though I should be better contented to have it thus than otherwise. To the 'Change, and thence home, and took London-bridge in my way ; walking down Fish Street and Gracious

¹ The set of portraits known as "King Charles's Beauties," formerly in Windsor Castle, but now at Hampton Court.

² The Book of Martyrs was Fox's "Acts and Monuments."

Street, to see how very fine a descent they have now made down the hill, that it is become very easy and pleasant. Going through Leaden-Hall, it being market-day, I did see a woman caught, that had stole a shoulder of mutton off of a butcher's stall, and carrying it wrapt up in a cloth, in a basket. The jade was surprised, and did not deny it, and the woman so silly, as to let her go that took it, only taking the meat.

23rd (Lord's day). To church, and heard a good sermon of Mr. Gifford's at our church, upon "Seek ye first the kingdom of Heaven and its righteousness, and all things shall be added to you." A very excellent and persuasive, good and moral sermon. He showed, like a wise man, that righteousness is a surer moral way of being rich, than sin and villainy. After dinner to the Office, Mr. Gibson and I, to examine my letter to the Duke of York, which, to my great joy, I did very well by my paper tube, without pain to my eyes. And I do mightily like what I have therein done ; and did, according to the Duke of York's order, make haste to St. James's, and about four o'clock got thither : and there the Duke of York was ready, expecting me, and did hear it all over with extraordinary content ; and did give me many and hearty thanks, and in words the most expressive tell me his sense of my good endeavours, and that he would have a care of me on all occasions ; and did, with much inwardness,¹ tell me what was doing, suitable almost to what Captain Cocke

¹ *i. e.*, intimacy.

tells me, of designs to make alterations in the Navy ; and is most open to me in them, and with utmost confidence desires my further advice on all occasions : and he resolves to have my letter transcribed, and sent forthwith to the Office. So, with as much satisfaction as I could possibly, or did hope for, and obligation on the Duke of York's side professed to me, I away into the Park, and there met Mr. Pierce and his wife, and sister and brother, and a little boy, and with them to Mulberry Garden, and spent 18s. on them, and there left them, she being again with child, and by it, the least pretty that ever I saw her. And so I away, and got a coach, and home, and there with my wife and W. Hewer, talking all the evening, my mind running on the business of the Office, to see what more I can do to the rendering myself acceptable and useful to all, and to the King. We to supper, and to bed.

24th. My wife is upon hanging the long chamber, where the girl lies, with the sad stuff¹ that was in the best chamber, in order to the hanging that with tapestry.

25th. Up, and by water to St. James's, and there, with Mr. Wren, did discourse about my great letter, which the Duke of York hath given him : and he hath set it to be transcribed by Billings, his man, whom, as he tells me, he can most confide in for secresy, and is much pleased with it, and earnest to have it be ; and he and I are like to be much together in the consid-

¹ Stuff of a sad colour.

ering how to reform the Office, and that by the Duke of York's command. Thence I, mightily pleased with this success, away to the Office, where all the morning, my head full of this business. And it is pretty how Lord Brouncker this day did tell me how he hears that a design is on foot to remove us out of the Office : and proposes that we two do agree to draw up a form of a new constitution of the Office, there to provide remedies for the evils we are now under, that so we may be beforehand with the world, which I agreed to, saying nothing of my design ; and, the truth is, he is the best man of them all, and I would be glad, next myself, to save him ; for, as he deserves best, so I doubt he needs his place most.

26th. In my way to the Old Swan,¹ finding a great many people gathered together in Cannon Street about a man that was working in the ruins, and the ground did sink under him, and he sunk in, and was forced to be dug out again, but without hurt. It is strange to say with what speed² the people employed do pull down Paul's steeple, and with what ease : it is said that it, and the choir are to be taken down this year, and another church begun in the room thereof, the next. Home by coach with Sir D. Gauden, who, by the way, tells me how the City do go on in several things towards the building of the public places, which I am glad to hear ; and gives hope that in a few years

¹ In Upper Thames Street.

² The stones fell so fast, that Pepys felt a sensation like sea-sickness! see 14th Sept., 1668, *post*.

it will be a glorious place ; but we met with several stops and troubles in the way in the streets, so as makes it bad to travel in the dark now through the City. So I to Mr. Batelier's by appointment, where I find my wife, and Deb., and Mercer ; Mrs. Pierce and her husband, son, and daughter ; and Knipp and Harris, and W. Batelier, and his sister Mary, and cozen Gumbleton, a good-humoured, fat young gentleman, son to the Jeweller, that dances well ; and here danced all night long, with a noble supper ; and about two in the morning the table spread again for a noble breakfast beyond all moderation, that put me out of countenance, so much and so good. Mrs. Pierce and her people went home betimes, she being big with child ; but Knipp and the rest staid till almost three in the morning, and then broke up.

27th. Knipp home with us, and I to bed, and rose about six, mightily pleased with last night's mirth. To St. James's, and there, with Mr. Wren, did correct his copy of my letter, which the Duke of York hath signed in my very words, without alteration of a syllable.¹ And so pleased therewith, I to my Lord Brouncker, who I find within, but hath business, and so comes not to the Office to-day. And so I by water to the Office, where we sat all the morning ; and, just

¹ A copy of this letter is in the British Museum, Harl. MS., 6003; see 24th July, *ante*, and 29th Aug., *post*. In the Pepysian Collection are the following:—An Inquisition, by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, when Lord High Admiral of England, into the Management of the Navy, 1668, with his Regulations thereon, fol. Also Mr. Pepys's Defence of the same upon an Inquisition thereunto by Parliament, 1669, fol.

as the Board rises, comes the Duke of York's letter, which I knowing, and the Board not being full, and desiring rather to have the Duke of York deliver it himself to us, I suppressed it for this day, my heart beginning to falsify in this business, as being doubtful of the trouble it may give me by provoking them ; but, however, I am resolved to go through it, and it is too late to help it now. At noon to dinner to Captain Cocke's, where I met with Mr. Wren ; my going being to tell him what I have done, which he likes, and to confer with Cocke about our Office ; who tells me that he is confident the design of removing our Officers do hold, but that he is sure that I am safe enough. So away home, and there met at Sir Richard Ford's, with the Duke of York's Commissioners about our Prizes, with whom we shall have some trouble, before we make an end with them. I with my wife, and W. Batelier, and Deb. ; carried them to Bartholomew Fayre, where we saw the dancing of the ropes and nothing else, it being late.

28th. To White Hall, where the Duke of York did call me aside, and told me that he must speak with me in the afternoon, and with Mr. Wren, for that now he hath got the paper from my Lord Keeper¹ about the exceptions taken against the management of the Navy ; and so we are to debate upon answering them. At noon I home with Sir W. Coventry to his house ; and there dined with him, and talked freely with him ;

¹ Sir Orlando Bridgman.

and did acquaint him with what I have done, which he is well pleased with, and glad of: and do tell me that there are endeavours on foot to bring the Navy into new, but, he fears, worse hands. After much talk with great content with him, I walked to the Temple, and staid at Starky's, my bookseller's, looking over Dr. Heylin's new book of the Life of Bishop Laud, a strange book of the Church History of his time, till Mr. Wren comes, and by appointment we to the Attorney General's chamber, and there heard the witnesses in the business of Ackeworth, most troublesome and perplexed by the counter swearing of the witnesses, and so with Mr. Wren to White Hall about the business of Supernumeraries in the fleete, wherein Sir W. Pen was to do all and did, but like an ignorant illiterate coxcombe. The Duke of York fell to work with us, the Committee being gone, in the Council-chamber; and there, with his own hand, did give us his long letter, telling us that he had received several from us, and now did give us one from him, taking notice of our several duties and failures, and desired answer to it, as he therein desired; this pleased me well; and so fell to other business, and then parted. And the Duke of York, and Wren, and I, it being now candle-light, into the Duke of York's closet in White Hall; and there read over this paper of my Lord Keeper's, wherein are laid down the faults of the Navy, so silly, and the remedies so ridiculous, or else the same that are now already provided, that we thought it not to need any answer, the

Duke of York being able himself to do it: that so it makes us admire the confidence of these men to offer things so silly, in a business of such moment. But it is a most perfect instance of the complexion of the times! and so the Duke of York said himself, who, I perceive, is mightily concerned in it, and do, again and again, recommend it to Mr. Wren and me together, to consider upon remedies fit to provide for him to propound for the King, before the rest of the world, and particularly the Commissioners of Accounts, who are men of understanding and order, to find our faults, and offer remedies of their own, which I am glad of, and will endeavour to do something in it. So parted, and with much difficulty, by candle-light, walked over the Matted Gallery, as it is now with the mats and boards all taken up, so that we walked over the rafters. But strange to see how hard matter the plaster of Paris is, that is there taken up, as hard as stone! And pity to see Holben's work in the ceiling blotted on, and only whited over! My wife this day with Hales, to sit for her hand to be mended, in her picture.

29th. Up, and all the morning at the Office, where the Duke of York's long letter was read, to their great trouble, and their suspecting me to have been the writer of it. And at noon comes, by appointment, Harris to dine with me: and after dinner he and I to Chyrurgeons'-hall, where they are building it new, very fine; and there to see their theatre, which stood all the fire, and, which was our business, their great

picture of Holben's,¹ thinking to have bought it, by the help of Mr. Pierce, for a little money: I did think to give 200*l.* for it, it being said to be worth 1000*l.*; but it is so spoiled that I have no mind to it, and is not a pleasant, though a good picture. Thence carried Harris to his playhouse, where, though four o'clock, so few people there at "The Impertinents," as I went out; and do believe they did not act, though there was my Lord Arlington and his company there. So I out, and met my wife in a coach, and stopped her going thither to meet me; and took her, and Mercer, and Deb., to Bartholomew Fair, and there did see a ridiculous, obscene little stage-play, called "Marry Andrey;"² a foolish thing, but seen by everybody; and so to Jacob Hall's³ dancing of the ropes; a thing worth seeing, and mightily followed. Writing to my father to night not to unfurnish our house in the country for my sister, who is going to her own house, because I think I may have occasion myself to

¹ The picture here mentioned still adorns the Court Room at Barber Surgeons' Hall, in Monkwell Street. It represents Henry VIII. in the act of delivering their charter to the Barber Surgeons' and Surgeons' Companies, which were united in the 32nd year of that King: it contains eighteen figures. The painting is considered to be one of Holbein's best works, and is in good preservation, though it may have been damaged by the Great Fire, when the Hall suffered so much as to require repair. We are not told whether the Company named any price, even if our Journalist had been inclined to the speculation. A fine print from the picture was made by B. Baron, in 1736, and it has again been engraved for Knight's "London," which contains a very interesting account of Barber Surgeons' Hall: the names of the persons represented by Holbein will also be found in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for April, 1789.

² Merry Andrew.

³ See 7th April, 1668, *ante*.

come thither ; and so I do, by our being put out of the Office, which do not at all trouble me to think of.

30th (Lord's day). Walked to St. James's and Pell Mell, and read over, with Sir W. Coventry, my long letter to the Duke of York, and which the Duke of York hath, from mine, wrote to the Board, wherein he is mightily pleased, and I perceive do put great value upon me, and did talk very openly on all matters of State, and how some people have got the bit into their mouths, meaning the Duke of Buckingham and his party, and would likely run away with all. But what pleased me mightily was to hear the good character he did give of my Lord Falmouth for his generosity, good-nature, desire of public good, and low thoughts of his own wisdom ; his employing his interest in the King to do good offices to all people, without any other fault than the freedom he do learn in France of thinking himself obliged to serve his King in his pleasures : and was Sir W. Coventry's particular friend : and Sir W. Coventry do tell me very odde circumstances about the fatality of his death,¹ which are very strange.² Thence to White Hall to chapel, and heard the anthem, and did dine with the Duke of Albemarle in a dirty manner as ever. All the afternoon, I sauntered up and down the house and Park. And there was a Committee for Tangier met, wherein Lord Middleton would, I think, have found fault with me for

¹ See 8th June, 1665, *ante*.

² The particulars of this prediction are recorded in a MS. in the Pepysian Collection, but the reference to it is unfortunately mislaid.

want of coles ; but I slighted it, and he made nothing of it, but was thought to be drunk ; and I see that he hath a mind to find fault with me and Creed, neither of us having yet applied ourselves to him about anything : but do talk of his profits and perquisites taken from him, and garrison reduced, and that it must be increased, and such things, as, I fear, he will be just such another as my Lord Tiviott and the rest, to ruin that place. So I to the Park, and there walk an hour or two ; and in the King's garden, and saw the Queen and ladies walk ; and I did steal some apples off the trees ;¹ and here did see my Lady Richmond, who is of a noble person as ever I did see, but her face worse than it was considerably by the smallpox : her sister² is also very handsome. Coming into the Park, and the door kept strictly, I had opportunity of handing in the little, pretty, squinting girl of the Duke of York's house, but did not make acquaintance with her ; but let her go, and a little girl that was with her, to walk by themselves. So to White Hall in the evening, to the Queen's side, and there met the Duke of York ; and he did tell me and Sir W. Coventry, who was with me, how that Lord Anglesey did take notice of our reading his long and sharp letter to the Board ; but that it was the better, at least he said so. The

¹ Apple Tree Yard, in York Street, St. James's Square, still preserves the names of the fruit trees formerly growing there.

² Sophia Stuart, married to Henry Bulkeley, fourth son of Thomas, first Viscount Bulkeley, and Master of the Household to Charles II. — COLLINS'S *Peerage*, vol. viii., p. 16, ed. 1812.

Duke of York, I perceive, is earnest in it, and will have good effects of it ; telling Sir W. Coventry that it was a letter that might have come from the Commissioners of Accounts, but it was better it should come first from him. I met Lord Brouncker, who, I perceive, and the rest, do smell that it comes from me, but dare not find fault with it ; and I am glad of it, it being my glory and defence that I did occasion and write it. So by water home, and did spend the evening with W. Hewer, telling him how we are all like to be turned out, Lord Brouncker telling me this evening that the Duke of Buckingham did, within few hours, say that he had enough to turn us all out : which I am not sorry for at all, for I know the world will judge me to go for company ; and my eyes are such as I am not able to do the business of my Office as I used, and would desire to do, while I am in it.

31st. To Hercules Pillars,¹ and there dined all alone, while I sent my shoe to have the heel fastened at Wotton's. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and saw "Hamlet," which we have not seen this year before, or more ; and mightily pleased with it ; but, above all, with Betterton, the best part, I believe, that ever man acted. Thence to the Fayre, and saw "Polichinelle," and so home. This night lay the first night in Deb.'s chamber, which is now hung with that, that hung our great chamber, and is now a very handsome room. This day Mrs. Batelier did give my wife a mighty

¹ In Fleet Street.

pretty Spaniel [Flora], which she values mightily, and is pretty ; but, as a new comer, I cannot be fond of her.

September 1st. To Bartholomew Fair, and there saw several sights ; among others, the mare that tells money,¹ and many things to admiration ; and, among others, came to me, when she was bid to go to him of the company, that most loved a pretty wench in a corner. And this cost me 12*d.* to the horse, which I had flung him before, and did give me occasion to kiss a mighty *belle fille* that was exceeding plain, but *fort belle*.

2nd. Fast-day for the burning of London, strictly observed. I at home at the office all day, forenoon and afternoon, about the Victuallers' contract, and at night home to supper, having had but a cold dinner ; and this evening comes Mr. Hill to discourse with me about Yeabsly and Lanyon's business, wherein they are troubled, and I fear they have played the knave too far for me to help or think fit to appear for them. Troubled with a Summons, though a kind one, from Mr. Jessop, to attend the Commissioners of Accounts to-morrow.

3rd. To the Office, where busy till it was time to go to the Commissioners of Accounts, and there was received with all possible respect, their business being

¹ This is not the first learned horse of which we read. Shakspeare, "Love's Labour's Lost," act i., sc. 2, mentions "the dancing horse," which, as may well be supposed, has led to much comment. All that can be found on the subject in general, and on Banks's bay horse in particular, is given in Reed's "Shakspeare," 1813, vol. vii., pp. 24, 26.

only to explain the meaning of one of their late demands to us, and, this being done, away with great content, and so to my bookseller's, for "Hobbs's Leviathan,"¹ which is now mightily called for; and what was heretofore sold for 8s. I now give 24s. for, at the second hand, and is sold for 30s., it being a book the Bishops will not let be printed again.

4th. At the Office all the morning; and at noon my wife, and Deb., and Mercer, and W. Hewer and I to the Fair, and there, at the old house, did eat a pig, and was pretty merry, but saw no sights, my wife having a mind to see the play "Bartholomew-Fair," with puppets. And it is an excellent play; the more I see it, the more I love the wit of it; only the business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale, and of no use, they being the people that, at last, will be found the wisest. And here Knipp came to us, and sat with us, and thence took coach in two coaches, and losing one another, my wife, and Knipp, and I to Hercules Pillars, and there supped, and I did take from her mouth the words and notes of her song of "the Larke," which pleases me mightily. And so set her at home, and away we home, where our company come before us. This night Knipp tells us that there is a Spanish woman lately come over, that pretends to sing as well as Mrs. Knight; both of whom I must endeavour to hear.

¹ "Leviathan," by Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury, published in 1651. It was reprinted in 1680, with its old date. All Hobbes's works have been printed in 1839, under the editorial care of Sir William Molesworth.

5th. To Mr. Hales's new house, where, I find, he hath finished my wife's hand, which is better than the other; and here I find Harris's picture,¹ done in his habit of "Henry the Fifth;"² mighty like a player, but I do not think the picture near so good as any yet he hath made for me: however, it is pretty well.

6th (Lord's day). Up betimes, and got myself ready to go by water, and about nine o'clock took boat with Henry Russell to Gravesend, coming thither about one, where, at the Ship, I dined; and thither come to me Mr. Hosier, whom I went to speak with, about several businesses of work that he is doing, and I would have him do, of writing work, for me. And I did go with him to his lodging, and there did see his wife, a pretty tolerable woman, and do find him upon an extraordinary good work of designing a method of keeping our Storekeeper's Accounts, in the Navy. Here I should have met with Mr. Wilson, but he is sick, and could not come from Chatham to me. So, having done with Hosier, I took boat again the beginning of the flood, and come home by nine at night, with much pleasure, it being a fine day. Going down I spent reading of the "Five Sermons of Five Several Styles,"³ worth comparing one with another;

¹ See *ante*, 22nd July, 1663.

² In Lord Orrery's play.

³ By Abraham Wright, Fellow of St. John's Coll., Oxford, afterwards Vicar of Oakham, who died in 1690. The title is, "Five Sermons, in Five several Styles, or Waies of Preaching. First, in Bp. Andrews his *way*; before the late King upon the first day of Lent. Second, in Bp. Hall's *way*; before the clergie at the author's own ordination in Christ Church, Oxford. Third, in Dr. Maine's and Mr Cartwright's *way*; before the University at St.

but I do think, when all is done, that, contrary to the design of the book, the Presbyterian style and the Independent are the best of the five sermons to be preached; and this I do, by the best of my present judgment, think. My boy was with me, and read to me all day, and we sang a while together, and so home to supper a little, and so to bed.

7th. With my Lord Brouncker (who was this day in an unusual manner merry, I believe with drink), J. Minnes, and W. Pen to Bartholomew-Fair; and there saw the dancing mare again, which, to-day, I find to act much worse than the other day, she forgetting many things, which her master beat her for, and was mightily vexed; and then the dancing of the ropes, and also the little stage-play, which is very ridiculous.

8th. Up; and by water to White Hall, and to St. James's, there to talk a little with Mr. Wren about the private business we are upon, in the Office, where he tells me he finds that they all suspect me to be the author of the great letter,¹ which I value not, being satisfied that it is the best thing I could ever do for myself; and so, after some discourse of this kind

Marie's, Oxford. Fourth, in the Presbyterian *way*; before the Citie, at St. Paul's, London. Fifth, in the Independent *way*; never preached. . . . Printed for Edw. Archer, 1656." Wood says, "The chief end in printing these sermons, was, first, to show the difference between the University and City breeding up of preachers, and to let the people know that any one that hath been bred a scholar is able to preach any way to the capacity and content of an auditory. And, secondly, that none can do this, but they only that have had such education: yet, notwithstanding, ordinary capacities are more taken with cloak and laymen's preaching than that of the gown."

¹ See from 21st to 27th August, 1668, *ante*.

more, I back to the Office, and there all the morning ; and after dinner to it again, all the afternoon, and very late, and then home to supper, where met W. Batelier and Betty Turner, and, after some talk with them, and supper, we to bed. This day, I received so earnest an invitation again from Roger Pepys, to come to Sturbridge-Fair [at Cambridge], that I resolved to let my wife go, which she shall do the next week. This day I received two letters from the Duke of Richmond about his yacht, which is newly taken into the King's service, and I am glad of it, hoping hereby to oblige him, and to have occasions of seeing his noble Duchess, which I adore.

9th. To the Duke of Richmond's lodgings by his desire, by letter, yesterday. I find him at his lodgings in the little building in the bowling-green, at White Hall, that was begun to be built by Captain Rolt.¹ They are fine rooms. I did hope to see his lady ; but she, I hear, is in the country. His business was about his yacht, and he seems a mighty good-natured man, and did presently write me a warrant for a doe from Cobham, when the season comes, buck season being past. I shall make much of this acquaintance, that I may live to see his lady near. Thence to Westminster, to Sir R. Long's Office : ² and, going, met Mr. George Montagu, who talked and complimented me mightily ; and long discourse I had with him, who, for news, tells me for certain that Trevor do come to be Secretary at

¹ See 11th Dec., 1667, *ante*.

² At the Exchequer, of which he was Auditor.

Michaelmas, and that Morrice goes out, and he believes, without any compensation. He tells me that now Buckingham do rule all ; and the other day, in the King's journey he is now on, at Bagshot, and that way, he caused Prince Rupert's horses to be turned out of an inne, and caused his own to be kept there, which the Prince complained of to the King, and the Duke of York seconded the complaint ; but the King did over-rule it for Buckingham, by which there are high displeasures among them ; and Buckingham and Arlington rule all. To White Hall, where Brouncker, W. Pen, and I attended the Commissioners of the Treasury about the victualling-contract, where high words between Sir Thomas Clifford and us, and myself more particularly, who told him that something, that he said was told him about this business, was a flat untruth. However, we went on to our business in the examination of the draught, and so parted, and I vexed at what happened, and I all that night so vexed that I did not sleep almost all night, which shows how unfit I am for trouble. So, after a little supper and spending a little time melancholy in making a base to the Lark's song, I to bed.

10th. There dined with me Batelier and his wife, and Mercer, and my people, at a good venison-pasty ; and after dinner I and W. Howe, who came to see me, by water to the Temple, and met our four women, my wife, M. Batelier, Mercer, and Deb., at the Duke's playhouse, and there saw "The Maid in the Mill," revived — a pretty, harmless old play. I to the office,

where a child is laid at Sir J. Minnes's door, as there was one heretofore. Thence to Unthanke's, and 'Change, where wife did a little business, while Mercer and I staid in the coach ; and, in a quarter of an hour, I taught her the whole Larke's song perfectly, so excellent an eare she hath. Here we at Unthanke's 'light, and walked them to White Hall, my wife mighty angry at it, and did give me ill words before Batelier, which vexed me, but I made no matter of it, but vexed to myself. So landed them, it being fine moonshine, at the Bear,¹ and so took water to the other side, and home. So being good friends again, my wife seeking it, by my being silent I overcoming her, we to bed.

11th. At my Office all the morning and after dinner all the afternoon shut up drawing up my defence to the Duke of York upon his great letter, which I have industriously taken this opportunity of doing for my future use. At it late and my mind and head mighty full of it all night.

12th. To the Office, where till noon, and I do see great whispering among my brethren about their replies to the Duke of York, which vexed me, though I know no reason for it ; for I have no manner of ground to fear them. At noon home to dinner, and, after dinner, to work all the afternoon again. At home late, and so to bed.

13th (Lord's day). By coach to St. James's, and

¹ At the foot of London Bridge; pulled down, Dec. 1761: see 21st Sept., *post*.

met, to my wish, the Duke of York and Mr. Wren ; and understand the Duke of York hath received answers from Brouncker, W. Pen, and J. Minnes ; and as soon as he saw me, he bid Mr. Wren read them over with me. So having no opportunity of talk with the Duke of York, and Mr. Wren some business to do, he put them into my hands like an idle companion, to take home with me before himself had read them, which do give me great opportunity of altering my answer, if there was cause. After supper, made my wife to read them all over, wherein she is mighty useful to me ; and I find them all evasions, and in many things false, and in few, to the full purpose. Little said reflective on me, though W. Pen and J. Minnes do mean me in one or two places, and J. Minnes a little more plainly would lead the Duke of York to question the exactness of my keeping my records ; but all to no purpose. My mind is mightily pleased by this, if I can but get time to have a copy taken of them, for my future use ; but I must return them to-morrow. So to bed.

14th. Up betimes, and walked to the Temple, and stopped, viewing the Exchange, and Paul's, and St. Fayth's, where strange how the very sight of the stones falling from the top of the steeple do make me seasick ! But no hurt, I hear, hath yet happened in all this work of the steeple, which is very much. So from the Temple I by coach to St. James's, where I find Sir W. Pen and Lord Anglesey, who delivered this morning his answer to the Duke of York, but I could

not see it. But after being above with the Duke of York but said nothing, I down with Mr. Wren; and he and I read them all over that I had, and I expounded them to him, and did so order it that I had them home with me, so that I shall, to my heart's wish, be able to take a copy of them. After dinner, I by water to White Hall; and there, with the Cofferer¹ and Sir Stephen Fox, attended the Commissioners of the Treasury, about bettering our fund; and are promised it speedily.

15th. Up mighty betimes, my wife and people, Mercer lying here all night, by three o'clock, and I about five; and they before, and I after them, to the coach in Bishopsgate Street, which was not ready to set out. So took wife and Mercer and Deb. and W. Hewer, who are all to set out this day for Cambridge, to cozen Roger Pepys's, to see Sturbridge Fayre; and I showed them the Exchange, which is very finely carried on, with good dispatch. So walked back and saw them gone, there being only one man in the coach besides them; and so home to the Office. To the King's playhouse, to see a new play, acted but yesterday, a translation out of French by Dryden, called "The Ladys à la Mode:"² so mean a thing as, when

¹ William Ashburnham.

² No play called "The Ladies à la Mode" has been traced in 1668, or in any earlier or later year. A comedy, entitled "Love à la Mode," was brought out very soon after the Restoration, but it was anonymous. Pepys is believed to be the only authority for attributing the piece to Dryden, who possibly had a hand in it, but did not print the play, on account of its ill success. A comedy, named "Damoyselles à la Mode," and printed in 1667, 8vo, is mentioned

they came to say it would be acted again to-morrow, both he that said it, Beeson,¹ and the pit fell a-laughing, there being this day not a quarter of the pit full.

16th. Walking it to the Temple, and in my way observe that the Stockes² are now pulled quite down; and it will make the coming into Cornhill and Lumberd Street mighty noble. I stopped, too, at Paul's, and there did go into St. Fayth's Church, and also in the body of the west part of the Church; and do see a hideous sight of the walls of the Church ready to fall, that I was in fear as long as I was in it: and here I saw the great vaults underneath the body of the Church. No hurt, I hear, is done yet, since their going to pull down the Church and steeple; but one man, on Monday this week fell from the top to a piece of the roof, of the east end, that stands next the steeple, and there broke himself all to pieces. It is pretty here to see how the last Church was but a case wrought over the old Church; for you may see the very old pillars standing whole within the wall of this.

by Langbaine, p. 56, as written by Richard Flecknoe, and dedicated to the Duchess of Newcastle; but it does not appear to have ever been acted, though, in point of title and date, it comes very near what is wanted.

¹ Probably Beeston, who had been Manager of the Cockpit Theatre.

² The Stocks Market took its name from a pair of stocks placed near this spot. See 10th Dec., 1660, *ante*. About 1675, Sir Robert Viner purchased an equestrian statue of John Sobieski trampling down the Turk; which, when it had undergone some necessary alterations, he erected in Stocks Market as Charles II. trampling on Oliver Cromwell. The Mansion House now stands on the site. About 1737, the statue was presented to Robert Viner, the lineal representative of the convivial Lord Mayor, and the market transferred to the space gained by the covering over the Fleet Ditch. This Fleet Market has, in its turn, given place to Farringdon Street.

When I come to St. James's, I find the Duke of York gone with the King to see the muster of the Guards in Hyde Park; and their Colonel, the Duke of Monmouth, to take his command this day of the King's Life-Guard, by surrender of my Lord Gerard. So I took a hackney-coach and saw it all: and indeed it was mighty noble, and their firing mighty fine, and the Duke of Monmouth in mighty rich clothes; but the well-ordering of the men I understand not. Here, among a thousand coaches that were there, I saw and spoke to Mrs. Pierce: and by and by Mr. Wren hunts me out, and gives me my Lord Anglesey's answer to the Duke of York's letter, where, I perceive, he do do what he can to hurt me, by bidding the Duke of York call for my books: but this will do me all the right in the world, and yet I am troubled at it. So away out of the Park, and home; and there Mr. Gibson and I to dinner: and all the afternoon with him, writing over anew, and a little altering, my answer to the Duke of York, which I have not yet delivered, and so have the opportunity of doing it after seeing all their answers, though this do give me occasion to alter very little. This done, he to write it over, and I to the Office, where late, and then home; and he had finished it; and then he to read to me the *Life of Archbishop Laud*,¹ wrote by Dr. Heylin; which is a shrewd book, but that which I believe will do the Bishops in general no great good, but hurt, it pleads

¹ "Cyprianus Anglicus: or, The Life and Death of Archbishop Laud," by Peter Heylin, D.D.

for so much Popish. This day my father's letters tell me of the death of poor Fancy, in the country, big with puppies, which troubles me, as being one of my oldest acquaintances and servants. Also good Stankes is dead.

17th. At noon comes Knipp, with design to dine with Lord Brouncker, but she being undressed, and there being much company, dined with me ; and after dinner I out with her, and carried her to the play-house ; and in the way did give her five guineas as a fairing, I having given her nothing a great while, and her coming hither sometimes having been matter of cost to her. So to the King's playhouse, and saw "Rollo, Duke of Normandy,"¹ which, for old acquaintance, pleased me pretty well. This evening Batelier comes to tell me that he was going down to Cambridge to my company, to see the Fair, which vexed me, and the more because I fear he do know that Knipp did dine with me to-day.²

18th. To St. James's, and there took a turn or two in the Park ; and then up to the Duke of York, and there had opportunity of delivering my answer to his late letter, which he did not read, but give to Mr. Wren, as looking on it as a thing I needed not have done, but only that I might not give occasion to the rest to suspect my communication with the Duke of York against them. So now I am at rest in that matter, and shall be more, when my copies are fin-

¹ By John Fletcher.

² And that he might tell Mrs. Pepys.

ished of their answers. To White Hall, and thither comes the Duke of York to us, where I find him somewhat sour, and particularly angry with Lord Anglesey for his not being there now, nor at other times. To the King's house, and saw a piece of "Henry the Fourth;" at the end of the play, thinking to have gone abroad with Knipp, but it was too late, and she to get her part against to-morrow, in "The Silent Woman," and so I only set her at home, and away home.

- 19th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Silent Woman;" the best comedy, I think, that ever was wrote: and sitting by Shadwell¹ the poet, he was big with admiration of it. Here was my Lord Brouncker and W. Pen and their ladies in the box, being grown mighty kind of a sudden; but, God knows, it will last but a little while, I dare swear. Knipp did her part mighty well.² And so home straight, and to write, and particularly to my cozen Roger, who, W. Hewer and my wife writes me, do use them with mighty plenty and noble entertainment: so to supper, and to bed. All the news now is, that Mr. Trevor is for certain to be Secretary, in Morrice's place, which the Duke of York did himself tell me yesterday; and also that Parliament is to be adjourned to the 1st of March, which do please me well, hoping thereby to get my things in a little better order than

¹ Thomas Shadwell, the dramatic writer. Ob. 1692.

² She played the Silent Woman. See Downes's "*Roscius Anglicanus*," p. 4, 1708.

I should have done ; and the less attendances at that end of the town in winter.

20th (Lord's day). To church, and heard a dull sermon of Dr. Hicks, who is a suitor to Mrs. Howell, the widow of our Turner of the Navy ; and thence home to dinner, staying till past one o'clock for Harris, whom I invited, and to bring Shadwell the poet with him ; but they came not, and so a good dinner lost, through my own folly. And so to dinner alone, having since church heard my boy read over Dryden's Reply to Sir R. Howard's Answer, about his Essay of Poesy, and a letter in answer¹ to that ; the latter whereof is mighty silly, in behalf of Howard. To visit Mrs. Pierce, with whom, and him, I staid a little while, and do hear how the Duchess of Monmouth is at this time in great trouble of the shortness of her lame leg, which is likely to grow shorter and shorter, that she will never recover it.² So back, and walked in Gray's Inn walks a while, but little company ; and so over the fields to Clerkenwell, to see whether I could find that the fair Botelers³ do live there still, I seeing Frances the other day in a coach with Cary

¹ "A Letter from a Gentleman to the Honourable Ed Howard, Esq., occasioned by a Civiliz'd Epistle of Mr. Dryden's before his Second Edition of his Indian Emperour. In the Savoy, printed by Thomas Newcomb, 1668." The "Civiliz'd Epistle" was a caustic attack on Sir Robert Howard ; and the Letter is signed, "Sir, your faithful and humble servant, R. F." — *i e.*, Richard Flecknoe. — *Gent. Mag.*, for Dec. 1850, p. 597.

² See 9th and 15th May, and 15th July, 1668, *ante*.

³ Or Butlers. See 18th June, 24th July, 4th Aug., 1660: 23rd June, 11th Aug., 1661; 31st Dec., 1662; 27th March, 2nd Oct., 1664; 19th April, 1665.

Dillon,¹ her old servant, but know not where she lives.

21st. Sir D. Gauden with me talking about the Victualling business, which is now under dispute for a new contract, or whether it shall be put into a Commission. He gone, comes Mr. Hill to talk with me about Lanyon's business, and so being in haste I took him to the water with me, and so to White Hall to Sir W. Coventry, who do look upon all things to be managed with faction, and is grieved under it. So to St. James's, and there the Duke of York did of his own accord come to me, and tell me that he had read, and do like of, my answers to the objections which he did give me the other day, about the Navy; and so did Sir W. Coventry too, who told me that the Duke of York had shown him them. To Southwarke-Fair, very dirty, and there saw the puppet-show of Whittington, which was pretty to see; and how that idle thing do work upon people that see it, and even myself too! And thence to Jacob Hall's dancing on the ropes, where I saw such action as I never saw before, and mightily worth seeing; and here took

¹ Cary Dillon was the youngest son of Robert, second Earl of Roscommon, by his third wife, Anne, daughter of Sir William Stroud, of Stoake, in Somersetshire, and widow of Henry, Lord Folliott, of Ballyshannon. He is the Colonel Dillon before mentioned by Pepys, and who had killed Colonel Giles Rawlins in a duel. See 19th Aug., 1662 (where the note is in error). He afterwards held several posts under Charles II. and James II., and upon the death, in 1684, of his nephew, the poet, he succeeded as 5th Earl of Roscommon. He married, not Frances Boteler, but Katharine, daughter of John Werden, of Chester, and sister of Major-General Robert Werden (before mentioned), Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York, and Comptroller of his household when King. Lord Roscommon died 25th Nov., 1689.

acquaintance with a fellow that carried me to a tavern, whither come the musick of this booth, and by and by Jacob Hall himself, with whom I had a mind to speak, to hear whether he had ever any mischief by falls in his time. He told me, "Yes, many; but never to the breaking of a limb:" he seems a mighty strong man. So giving them a bottle or two of wine, I away with Payne, the waterman. He, seeing me at the play, did get a link to light me, and so light me to the Beare,¹ where Bland, my waterman, waited for me with gold and other things he kept for me, to the value of 40*l.* and more, which I had about me, for fear of my pockets being cut. So by link-light through the bridge, it being mighty dark, but still weather, and so home, where I find my draught of "The Resolution" come, finished, from Chatham; but will cost me, one way or other, about 12*l.* or 13*l.*, in the board, frame, and garnishing, which is a little too much, but I will not be beholden to the King's officers that do it. This day I met Mr. Moore in the New Exchange, and had much talk of my Lord's concernments. This day also came out first the new five-pieces in gold, coined by the Guiny Company;² and I did get two pieces of Mr. Holder.

22nd. To the Office, where sitting all the morning :

¹ See 10th Sept., 1668, *ante*.

² Guineas took their name from the gold brought from Guinea, by the African Company, who, as an encouragement to bring over gold to be coined, were permitted by their charter from Charles II., to have their stamp of an elephant upon the coin. There were likewise five-pound pieces, like the guinea, with the inscription upon the rim, like the crown-piece.

at noon, home to dinner, with my people, and so to the Office again, where busy all the afternoon, and in the evening spent my time walking in the dark, in the garden, to favour my eyes, which I find nothing but ease do help. In the garden there comes to me my Lady Pen and Mrs. Turner and Markham, and we sat and talked together, and I carried them home, and there eat a bit of something, and by and by comes Sir W. Pen, and eat with us, and mighty merry — in appearance, at least, he being on all occasions glad to be at friendship with me, though we hate one another, and know it on both sides. This day Mr. Wren did give me, at the Board, Commissioner Middleton's answer to the Duke of York's great letter ; so that now I have all of them.

23rd. At noon comes Mr. Evelyn to me, about some business with the Office, and there in discourse tells me of his loss, to the value of 500*l.*, which he hath met with, in a late attempt of making of bricks¹ upon an adventure with others, by which he presumed to have got a great deal of money : so that I see the most ingenious men may sometimes be mistaken. To White Hall, to attend the Commissioners of the Treasury with Alderman Backewell, about 10,000*l.* he is to lend us for Tangier, and then up to a Committee of the Council, where was the Duke of York, and they did give us, the Officers of the Navy, the proposals of the

¹ Evelyn seems to allude to this speculation, when he records that "Sir John Kiviet came to article with me about his brickwork." — *Diary*, 7th September, 1667.

several bidders for the victualling of the Navy, for us to give our answer to, which is the best, and whether it be better to victual by commission or contract, and to bring them our answer by Friday afternoon, which is a great deal of work.

24th. Up betimes and Sir D. Gauden with me, and I told him all, being very desirous for the King's sake, as well as my own, that he may be kept in it, and after consulting him I to the Office about this business till night, drawing up our answer. So home to supper, and made my boy read to me awhile, and then to bed.

25th. W. Batelier with me, who is lately come from Impington, beyond which I perceive he went not, whatever his pretence at first was ; and so he tells me how well and merry all are there, and how nobly used by my cozen. He gone, after dinner having wrote our answer fair and got Brouncker and the rest to sign it, I by coach to White Hall to the Committee of the Council, and there the Duke of York present, where our answer was read and debated, and some hot words between the Duke of York and Sir T. Clifford, the first for and the latter against Gauden, but the whole put off to to-morrow's Council. So with the Duke of York and some others to his closet, and Alderman Backewell about a Committee of Tangier, and there did agree upon a price for pieces of eight at 4s. 6d. They gone, the Duke of York did tell me how hot Clifford is for Child, and for removing of old Officers, he saying plainly to-night, that though D. Gauden was a man that had done the best service that he believed

any man, or any ten men, could have done, yet that it was for the King's interest not to let it lie too long in one hand, lest nobody should be able to serve him but one. But the Duke of York did openly tell him that he was not for removing of old servants that have done well, neither in this place, nor in any other place, which is very nobly said.

26th. Could sleep but little last night, for my concerns in this business of the victualling, for Sir D. Gauden, and he comes to me, and there I did tell him all, and give him my advice, and so he away. To Charing Cross, and there into the great new Ordinary,¹ by my Lord Mulgrave's,² being led thither by Mr. Beale, one of Oliver's, and now of the King's Guards; and he sat with me while I had two grilled pigeons, very handsome and good meat: and there he and I talked of our old acquaintances, W. Clerke and others, he being a very civil man, and so parted. To White Hall, and there attended the King and Council. I present, and then withdrew; and they spent two hours at least afterwards about it, and at last rose; and to my great content, the Duke of York, at coming out, told me that it was carried for D. Gauden at 6*d.*, 8*d.*, and 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; but with great difficulty, I understand, both from him and others, so much that Sir Edward Walker told me that he prays to God he may never live to

¹ The Swan tavern.

² John Sheffield, third Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards created Marquis and Duke of Normanby and Buckinghamshire. He was succeeded by his only son, Edmund, with whom all the honours became extinct, in 1737.

need to plead his merit, for D. Gauden's sake ; for that it hath stood him in no stead in this business at all, though both he and all the world that speaks of him, speaks of him as the most deserving man of any servant of the King's in the whole nation, and so I think he is : but it is done, and my heart is glad at it. To my house, where D. Gauden did talk a little, and he do mightily acknowledge my kindness to him, and I know I have done the King and myself good service in it. This noon I went to my Lady Peterborough's house, and talked with her about the money due to her Lord, and it gives me great trouble, her importunity and impertinency about it. This afternoon at Court I met with Lord Hinchingbroke, newly come out of the country, who tells me that Creed's business¹ with Mrs. Pickering will do, which I am neither troubled nor glad at.

27th (Lord's day). To White Hall, calling in at Somerset House Chapel, and there did hear a little masse : and so to White Hall ; and there the King being gone to Chapel, I to walk all the morning in the Park, where I met Mr. Wren : and he and I walked together in the Pell-Mell, it being most summer weather that ever was seen : and here talking of several things : of the corruption of the Court, and how unfit it is for ingenuous men, and himself particularly, to live in it, where a man cannot live but he must spend money, and cannot get it suitably, without

¹ Their marriage, which took place soon after.

breach of his honour : and he did thereupon tell me of the basest thing of my Lord Barkeley that ever was heard of any man, which was this : — how the Duke of York's Commissioners do let his wine-licenses at a bad rate, and being offered a better, they did persuade the Duke of York to give some satisfaction to the former to quit it, and let it to the latter, which being done, my Lord Barkeley did make the bargain for the former to have 1500*l.* a-year to quit it ; whereof, since, it is come to light that they were to have but 800*l.* and himself 700*l.*, which the Duke of York hath ever since for some years paid, though the second bargain hath been broken, and the Duke of York lost by it, half of what the first was. He told me that there hath been a seeming accommodation between the Duke of York and the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington, the two latter desiring it ; but yet that there is not true agreement between them, but they do labour to bring in all new creatures into play, and the Duke of York do oppose it. Thence, he gone, I to the Queen's Chapel, and there heard some good singing ; and so to White Hall, and saw the King and Queen at dinner : and thence with Sir Stephen Fox to dinner ; and the Cofferer¹ with us ; and there mighty kind usage, and good discourse. Thence spent all the afternoon walking in the Park, and then in the evening at Court, on the Queen's side ; and there met Mr. Godolphin,² who tells me that the news is true we heard yesterday, of

¹ William Ashburnham.

² Sidney Godolphin.

my Lord Sandwich's being come to Mount's-Bay, in Cornwall. This night, in the Queen's drawing-room, my Lord Brouncker told me the difference that is now between the three ambassadors here, the Venetian,¹ French,² and Spaniard ;³ the third not being willing to make a visit to the first, because he would not receive him at the door ; who is willing to give him as much respect as he did to the French, who was used no otherwise, and who refuses now to take more of him, upon being desired thereto, in order to the making an accommodation in this matter, which is very pretty. So a boat staying for me all the evening, I home in the dark, and so over the ruins from the Old Swan home with great trouble, and so to hear my boy read a little and to supper and to bed.

28th. Knipp's maid comes to me, to tell me that the women's day⁴ at the playhouse is to-day, and that therefore I must be there, to encrease their profit. I did give the pretty maid Betty⁵ that comes to me, half-a-crown for coming, and had a kiss or two — *elle* being mighty *jolie*. By water to St. James's, and there had good opportunity of speaking with the Duke of York, who desires me again, talking on that matter, to prepare something for him to do for the better managing of our Office, telling me that, my Lord Keeper

¹ Pietro Mocenigo, of whose entry into London, on the 17th September, 1668, an account is given in Evelyn's "Diary," and in Bp. Kennett's "Complete History," vol. iii. 271. A MS. copy of his relation of his embassy is in the British Museum. He was afterwards ambassador to Rome.

² Charles Colbert: see 8th August, 1668, *ante*.

³ Count De Dona.

⁴ Their Benefit.

⁵ See 16th May, 1668.

and he talking about it yesterday, my Lord Keeper did advise him to do so, it being better to come from him than otherwise, which I have promised to do. Thence to my Lord Burlington's house,¹ the first time I ever was there, it being the house built by Sir John Denham, next to Clarendon House ; and here I visited my Lord Hinchinbroke and his lady ; Mr. Sidney Montagu being last night come to town unexpectedly from Mount's Bay, where he left my Lord well, eight days since, so as we may now hourly expect to hear of his arrival at Portsmouth. Sidney is mighty grown ; and I am glad I am here to see him at his first coming, though it cost me dear, for here I come to be necessitated to supply them with 500*l.* for my Lord.² He sent him up with a declaration to his friends, of the necessity of his being presently supplied with 2000*l.* ; but I do not think he will get 1000*l.* However, I think it becomes my duty to my Lord to do something extraordinary in this, and the rather because I have been remiss in writing to him during this voyage, more than ever I did in my life, and more indeed than was fit for me. By and by comes Sir W. Godolphin to see Mr. Sidney, who, I perceive, is much dissatisfied that he should come to town last night, and not yet be with my Lord Arlington, who, and all the town, hear of his being come, and he did, it seems, take notice of it to

¹ In Piccadilly ; it still preserves its name. The house was probably built by Sir John Denham for Lord Burlington, from what is stated, 20th Feb., 1664-5, *ante*.

² See Pepys's Letter to Lord Sandwich on the subject, in the Correspondence, 29th September, 1668.

Godolphin this morning: so that I perceive this remissness in affairs do continue in my Lord's managements still, which I am sorry for; but, above all, to see in what a condition my Lord is for money, that I dare swear he do not know where to take up 500*l.* of any man in England at this time, upon his word, but of myself, as I believe by the sequel hereof it will appear. Here I first saw and saluted my Lady Burlington,¹ a very fine-speaking lady, and a good woman, but old, and not handsome; but a brave woman in her parts. Here my Lady Hinchinbroke tells me that she hath bought most of the wedding-clothes for Mrs. Pickering, so that the thing² is gone through, and will soon be ended; which I wonder at, but let them do as they will. Here I also, standing by a candle that was brought for sealing a letter, do set my periwig a-fire, which made such an odd noise,³ nobody could tell what it was till they saw the flame, my back being to the candle. To my vintner's, and there did only look upon his wife, which is mighty handsome; and so to my glove and ribbon shop, in Fenchurch Street, and did the like there. And there, stopping against the door of the shop, saw Mrs. Horsfall,³ now

¹ Elizabeth, sole daughter and heir to Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, wife of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Burlington. All the estates of these families came to the Cavendish family by the marriage of William, fourth Duke of Devonshire, with Lady Charlotte Boyle, heiress of Richard, last Earl of Burlington and Cork. The title of Burlington was revived for her son, Lord George Cavendish, grandfather of the present Earl of Burlington.

² The marriage with Creed.

³ Probably the same as Mrs. Horsfield: see 18th May, 1668.

a widow, in a coach. I to her, and shook her by the hand, and so she away ; and I by coach to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The City Match ;"¹ not acted these thirty years, and but a silly play : the King and Court there ; the house, for the women's sake, mighty full. So I to White Hall, and there all the evening on the Queen's side ; and it being a most summer-like day, and a fine warm evening, the Italians came in a barge under the leads, before the Queen's drawing-room ; and so the Queen and ladies went out, and heard them, for almost an hour : and the singing was indeed very good together ; but yet there was but one voice that alone did appear considerable, and that was Signor Joanni.² This done, by and by they went in ; and here I saw Mr. Sidney Montagu kiss the Queen's hand, who was mighty kind to him, and the ladies looked mightily on him ; and the King came by and by, and did talk to him. So I away by coach with Alderman Backewell home, who is mighty kind to me, more than ordinary, in his expressions. But I do hear this day what troubles me, that Sir W. Coventry is quite out of play, the King seldom speaking to him ; and that there is a design of making a Lord Treasurer, and that my Lord Arlington shall be the man ; but I cannot believe it. But yet the Duke of Buckingham hath it in his mind, and those with him, to make a thorough alteration in things ; and, among the rest, Coventry to be out. The Duke of York did

¹ A comedy, by Jasper Maine, D.D.

² Probably Giovanni B. Draghi: see 12th Feb., 1666-7.

this day tell me how hot the whole party was in the business of Gauden ;¹ and particularly, my Lord Anglesey tells me, the Duke of Buckingham, for Child against Gauden . but the Duke of York did stand stoutly to it.

29th (Tuesday, Michaelmas day). Up, and to the Office, where all the morning.

October 11th (Lord's day).² To church, where I find Parson Mills come to town and preached, and the church full, most people being now come home to town, though the season of year is as good as summer, in all respects. At noon dined at home with my wife, all alone. At night comes Mr. Turner and his wife, and there they tell me that Mr. Harper is dead at Deptford, and so now all his and my care is, how to secure his being Storekeeper in his stead ; and here they and their daughter, and a kinswoman that come along with them, did sup with me, and pretty merry.

12th. Up, and with Mr. Turner to White Hall, to enquire when the Duke of York will be in town, in order to Mr. Turner's going down to Audley End,³

¹ See 26th Sept., *ante*.

² In this part of the "Diary," no entry occurs for thirteen days, though there are several pages left blank. During the interval, Pepys went into the country, as he subsequently mentions his having been at Saxham, in Suffolk, during the King's visit to Lord Crofts, which took place at this time (see 23rd Oct., *post*). He might also probably have gone to Impington, to fetch his wife, whom we find dining at her home on the 11th October. At all events, the pages left blank were never filled up.

³ Her Majesty, attended by several ladies of the Court, left Whitehall for Audley End, on the 6th October, where His Majesty was expected, after hav-

about his place ; and here I met in St. James's Park with one that told me that the Duke of York would be in town to-morrow. I did stop my intentions of going to the Court, also this day, about securing Mr. Turner's place of Petty-purveyor to Mr. Hater. Meeting a gentleman of my Lord Middleton's looking for me about the payment of the 1000*l.* lately ordered to his Lord, in advance of his pay, which shall arise upon his going Governor to Tangier, I did go to his Lord's lodgings, and there spoke the first time with him, and find him a shrewd man, but a drinking man, I think, as the world says ; but a man that hath seen much of the world, and is a Scot. I offered him my service, though I can do him little ; but he sends his man home with me, where I made him stay, till I had gone to Sir W. Pen, to bespeak him about Mr. Hater, who, contrary to my fears, did appear very friendly, to my great content ; for I was afraid of his appearing for his man Burroughs. But he did not ; but did declare to me afterwards his intentions to desire an excuse in his own business, to be eased of the business of Comptroller, his health not giving him power to stay always in town, but he must go into the country. Home, where I find Sir H. Cholmly come to town ; and now come hither to see me : and he is a man that I love mightily, as being, of a gentleman, the most industrious that ever I saw. He staid with me awhile talking, and telling me his obligations to

ing diverted himself at Newmarket. The Court remained at Audley End till the 14th. — *The London Gazette*, No. 302.

my Lord Sandwich, which I was glad of; and that the Duke of Buckingham is now chief of all men in this kingdom, which I knew before; and that he do think the Parliament will hardly ever meet again; which is a great many men's thoughts, and I shall not be sorry for it. I home, and there to dinner, and Mr. Pelling with us; and thence my wife and Mercer, and W. Hewer and Deb., to the King's playhouse, and I afterwards by water after them, and there we did hear the Eunuch, who, it seems, is a Frenchman, but long bred in Italy, sing, which I seemed to take as new to me, though I saw him on Saturday last, but said nothing of it; but such action and singing I could never have imagined to have heard, and do make good whatever Tom Hill used to tell me. Here we met with Mr. Batelier and his sister, and so they home with us in two coaches, and there at my house staid and supped, and this night my bookseller Shrewsbury comes, and brings my books of Martyrs, and I did pay him for them, and did this night make the young women before supper to open all the volumes for me. Read a ridiculous nonsensical book set out by Will. Pen,¹ for the Quakers; but so full of nothing but nonsense, that I was ashamed to read in it.

¹ Penn's first work, entitled "Truth exalted, in a short but sure testimony against all those religions, faiths, and worships, that have been formed and followed, in the darkness of apostacy; and for that glorious light which is now risen, and shines forth, in the life and doctrine of the despised Quakers . . . by W. Penn, whom divine love constrains, in holy contempt, to trample on Egypt's glory, not fearing the King's wrath, having beheld the Majesty of Him who is invisible."

13th. With my Lord Brouncker, and did get his ready assent to T. Hater's having of Mr. Turner's place, and so Sir J. Minnes's also : but when we come to sit down at the Board, comes to us Mr. Wren this day to town, and tells me that James Southern do petition the Duke of York for the Storekeeper's place at Deptford, which did trouble me much, and also the Board, though, upon discourse, after he was gone, we did resolve to move hard for our Clerks, and that places of preferment may go according to seniority and merit. After doing some business, I with Mr. Turner to the Duke of Albemarle's at night ; and there did speak to him about his appearing to Mr. Wren as a friend to Mr. Turner, which he did kindly take from me ; and so away thence, well pleased with what we had now done, and so I with him home, stopping at my Lord Brouncker's, and getting his hand to a letter I wrote to the Duke of York for T. Hater. At my Lord Middleton's, to give him an account of what I had done this day, with his man, at Alderman Backewell's, about the getting of his 1000*l.* paid ;¹ and here he did take occasion to discourse about the business of the Dutch war, which, he says, he was always an enemy to ; and did discourse well of it, I saying little, but pleased to hear him talk ; and to see how some men may by age come to know much, and yet by their drinking and other pleasures, render themselves not very considerable. I did this day find

¹ It was probably for this payment that the tally was obtained, the loss of which caused Pepys so much anxiety : see 26th Nov., 1668, *post.*

by discourse with somebody, that this nobleman was the great Major-General Middleton, that was of the Scots army, in the beginning of the late war against the King.

14th. To White Hall, and there walked to St. James's, where I find the Court mighty full, it being the Duke of York's birthday; and he mighty fine, and all the musick, one after another, to my great content. Here I met with Sir H. Cholmly; and he and I to walk, and to my Lord Barkeley's new house,¹ there to see a new experiment of a cart, which, by having two little wheeles fastened to the axle-tree, is said to make it go with half the ease and more, than another cart; but we did not see the trial made. To St. James's, and there met my brethren; but the Duke of York being gone out, and to-night being a play there, and a great festival, we would not stay, but went all of us to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Faythful Shepherdess" again, that we might hear the French Eunuch sing, which we did, to our great content; though I do admire his action as much as his singing, being both beyond all I ever saw or heard.

15th. After dinner, my wife and I and Deb., out by coach to the upholster's in Long Lane, Alderman Reeve's, and then to Alderman Crow's, to see variety of hangings, and were mightily pleased therewith; and

¹ See the description of this splendid mansion, afterwards burnt to the ground by accident, in Evelyn's "Diary," 25th September, 1672. A small view of it, taken from an old map, is given in the notes to his "Memoir of Mrs. Godolphin."

at last I think we shall pitch upon the best suit of Apostles, where three pieces for my room will come to almost 80*l.*: so home. This day at the Board comes unexpected the warrants from the Duke of York for Mr. Turner and Hater, for the places they desire, which contents me mightily.

16th. I took my wife by coach and Deb., and showed her Mr. Wren's hangings and bed, at St. James's, and Sir W. Coventry's in the Pell-Mell, for our satisfaction in what we are going to buy; and so by Mr. Crow's, home, about his hangings, and do pitch upon buying his second suit of Apostles—the whole suit, which comes to 83*l.*; and this we think the best for us, having now the whole suit, to answer any other rooms or service. With Mr. Hater by water to St. James's: there Mr. Hater, to give Mr. Wren thanks for his kindness about his place that he hath lately granted him, of Petty Purveyor of petty emptions, upon the removal of Mr. Turner to be Storekeeper at Deptford, on the death of Harper. To my aunt Wight's, the first time, I think, these two years; and there mighty kindly used, and had a barrel of oysters, and so to look up and down their house, they having hung a room since I was there, but with hangings not fit to be seen with mine, which I find all come home to-night.

17th. Late home, and there with much pleasure getting Mr. Gibbs, that writes well, to write the name upon my new draught of "The Resolution;" and so set it up, and altered the situation of some of my pic-

tures in my closet, to my extraordinary content. Mr. Moore and Seymour were with me this afternoon, who tell me that my Lord Sandwich was received mighty kindly by the King, and is in exceeding great esteem with him, and the rest about him ; but I doubt it will be hard for him to please both the King and the Duke of York, which I shall be sorry for. Mr. Moore tells me the sad condition my Lord is in, in his estate and debts ; and the way he now lives in, so high, and so many vain servants about him, that he must be ruined, if he do not take up, which, by the grace of God, I will put him upon, when I come to see him.

18th. With Lord Brouncker to Lincolne's Inn, and Mr. Ball, to visit Dr. Wilkins, now newly Bishop of Chester : and he received us mighty kindly ; and had most excellent discourse from him about his Book of Reall Character :¹ and so I with Lord Brouncker to White Hall, and there saw the Queen and some ladies.

19th. With my wife and Deb. and Mr. Harman, the upholster, and carried them to take measure of Mr. Wren's bed in St. James's, I being resolved to have just such another made me. To the Duke of York's playhouse ; and there saw, the first time acted, "The Queen of Arragon,"² an old Blackfriars' play, but an admirable one, so good that I am astonished at it, and wonder where it hath lain asleep all this while, that I have never heard of it before. Here met W.

¹ See 15th May, 1668, *ante*.

² A tragi-comedy, by William Habington. Upon its revival, the prologue and epilogue were written by Butler, the author of "Hudibras."

Batelier and Mrs. Hunt, Deb's aunt; and saw her home — a very witty woman, and one that knows this play, and understands a play mighty well. Left her at home in Jewen Street, and we home, and to supper, and my wife to read to me, and so to bed.

20th. This day a new girl came to us in the room of Nell, who is lately, about four days since, gone away, being grown lazy and proud. This girl to stay only till we have a boy, which I intend to keep when I have a coach, which I am now about. At this time my wife and I mighty busy laying out money in dressing up our best chamber, and thinking of a coach and coachman and horses, &c.; and the more because of Creed's being now married to Mrs. Pickering: a thing I could never have expected, but it is done about seven or ten days since. I walked out to look out for a coach, and saw many; and did light on one[†] for which I bid 50*l.*, which do please me mightily, and I believe I shall have it. So to my tailor's, and the New Exchange, and so by coach home, and there, having this day bought "The Queen of Arragon," did get my wife and W. Batelier to read it over, and so to bed.

21st. At noon to dinner to Mr. Batelier's, his mother coming this day a-housewarming to him, and several friends of his, to which he invited us. Here mighty merry, and his mother the same; I heretofore took her for a gentlewoman, and understanding. I rose from table before the rest, because under an obligation to go to my Lord Brouncker's, where to meet several

[†] In Cow Lane.

gentlemen of the Royal Society, to go and make a visit to the French Ambassador Colbert, at Leicester House,¹ he having endeavoured to make one or two to my Lord Brouncker, as our President, but he was not within, but I came too late, they being gone before : so I followed to Leicester House ;² but they are gone in and up before me : and so I away to the New Exchange, and there staid for my wife, and she come, we to Cow Lane, and there I showed her the coach which I pitch on, and she is out of herself for joy almost. But the man not within, so did nothing more towards an agreement, but to Mr. Crow's about a bed, to have his advice. *Memorandum* : that from Crow's, we went back to Charing Cross, and there left my people at their tailor's, while I to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, who came to town the last night, and is come thither to lye : and met with him within : and among others my new cozen Creed, who looks mighty soberly ; and he and I saluted one another with mighty gravity, till we came to a little more freedom of talk about it. But here I hear that Sir Gilbert Pickering is lately dead, about three days since, which makes some sorrow there, though not much, because of his being long expected to die, having been in a lethargy long. So waited on my Lord to Court, and there staid and saw the ladies awhile : and thence to my wife, and took them up ; and so home, and to supper and bed.

¹ There is a picture of Leicester House at Penshurst.

² It occupied the north side of the present Leicester Square. Lisle Street and Sidney's Alley preserve some of the names.

22nd. Up, and W. Batelier's Frenchman, a perri-wigg maker, comes and brings me a new one, which I liked and paid him for : a mighty genteel fellow. To Crow's, and there did see some more beds : and we shall, I think, pitch upon a camlott one, when all is done. Thence to Arundell House, where the first time we¹ have met since the vacation, and not much company : but here much good discourse, and afterwards my Lord and others and I to the Devil tavern,² and there eat and drank, and so home by coach ; and there found my uncle Wight and aunt, and Woolly and his wife, and there supped, and mighty merry. And anon they gone, and Mrs. Turner staid, who was there also to talk of her husband's business ; and the truth is, I was the less pleased to talk with her, for that she hath not yet owned, in any fit manner of thanks, my late and principal service to her husband about his place, which I alone ought to have the thanks for, if they know as much as I do ; but let it go : if they do not own it, I shall have it in my hand to teach them to do it. This day word came for all the Principal Officers to bring the Commissioners of Accounts their patents, which I did in the afternoon, by leaving it at their office, but am troubled at what should be their design therein.

23rd. Up and plasterers at work and painters about my house. Col. Middleton and I to St. James's, where with the rest of our company we attended on our usual

¹ The Royal Society.

² In Fleet Street.

business the Duke of York. Thence I to White Hall, to my Lord Sandwich's, where I find my Lord within, but busy, private ; and so I staid a little talking with the young gentlemen : and so away with Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, towards Tyburne, to see the people executed ; but come too late, it being done ; two men and a woman hanged.¹ In the afternoon comes my cozen, Sidney Pickering,² to bring my wife and me his sister's Favour for her wedding, which is kindly done. Pierce do tell me, among other news, the late frolick and debauchery of Sir Charles Sedley and Buckhurst, running up and down all the night almost naked, through the streets ; and at last fighting, and being beat by the watch and clapped up all night ; and how the King takes their parts ; and my Lord Chief Justice Keeling hath laid the constable by the heels³ to answer it next Sessions : which is a horrid shame. How the King and these gentlemen did make the fiddlers of Thetford, this last progress, to sing them all the obscene songs they could think of. How Sir W. Coventry was brought the other day to the Duchess of York by the Duke, to kiss her hand ; and did acknowledge his unhappiness to occasion her so much sorrow, declaring his intentions in it, and praying her pardon ; which she did give him upon his promise to make good his pretences of innocence to her family,

¹ The gallows at Tyburn stood on the site of No. 49, Connaught Square.

² Mrs. Creed's brother.

³ An expression probably taking its rise from the custom of fastening people by their feet in the stocks.

by his faithfulness to his master, the Duke of York. That the Duke of Buckingham is now all in all, and will ruin Coventry, if he can : and that Coventry do now rest wholly upon the Duke of York for his standing, which is a great turn. He tells me that my Lady Castlemaine, however, is a mortal enemy to the Duke of Buckingham, which I understand not ; but, it seems, she is disgusted with his greatness, and his ill usage of her. That the King was drunk at Saxam¹ with Sedley, Buckhurst, &c., the night that my Lord Arlington came thither, and would not give him audience, or could not : which is true, for it was the night that I was there, and saw the King go up to his chamber, and was told that the King had been drinking. He tells me, too, that the Duke of York did the next day chide Bab. May for his occasioning the King's giving himself up to these gentlemen, to the neglecting of my Lord Arlington : to which he answered merrily, that there was no man in England that had a head to lose, durst do what they do, every day, with the King, and asked the Duke of York's pardon : which is a sign of a mad world. God bless us out of it !

24th. This morning comes to me the coachmaker,² and agreed with me for 53*l.*, and to stand to the cour-

¹ Saxham, near Bury St. Edmunds, then the seat of William Baron Crofts, long since pulled down. "My last told your Grace I was going into the country to pass my Christmas at my Lord Crofts; and when I tell you that the Duke of Bucks and George Porter were there, you will not doubt but we passed it merrily." — *Lord Arlington to the Duke of Ormond, Oxford, Jan. 9, 1666* (*Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 371).

² See 20th Oct., *ante*.

tesy of what more I should give him upon the finishing of the coach : ¹ he is likely also to fit me with a coachman. Lord Brouncker tells me that the making Sir J. Minnes a bare Commissioner ² is now in doing, which I am glad of ; but he speaks of two new Commissioners, which I do not believe.

25th (Lord's day). Up, and discoursing with my wife about our house and many new things we are doing of, and so to church I, and there find Jack Fenn come, and his wife, a pretty black woman : I never saw her before, nor took notice of her now. At night, W. Batelier comes and sups with us ; and, after supper, to have my head combed by Deb., which occasioned the greatest sorrow to me that ever I knew in this world, for my wife, coming up suddenly, did find me embracing the girl. I was at a wonderful loss upon it, and I endeavoured to put it off, but my wife was struck mute and grew angry, and as her reason came to her grew quite out of order, and I to say little, but to bed, and my wife said little also, but could not sleep all night, but about two in the morning waked me and cried, and fell to tell me as a great secret that she was a Roman Catholique and had received the Holy Sacrament, which troubled me, but I took no notice of it, but she went on from one thing to another till at last it appeared plainly her trouble was at what she saw. But after her much crying and reproaching me with inconstancy, I did give her no provocation, but did

¹ See 29th Nov., *post.*

² On his relinquishing his other office of Comptroller of the Navy.

promise all fair usage to her and love, till at last she seemed to be at ease again, and so toward morning a little sleep.

26th. I was obliged to attend the Duke of York, thinking to have had a meeting of Tangier to-day, but had not ; but he did take me and Mr. Wren into his closet, and there did press me to prepare what I had to say upon the answers of my fellow-officers to his great letter, which I promised to do against his coming to town again, the next week ; and so to other discourse, finding plainly that he is in trouble, and apprehensions of the Reformers, and would be found to do what he can towards reforming, himself. And so thence to my Lord Sandwich's, where, after long stay he being in talk with others privately, I to him ; and there, he taking physic and keeping his chamber, I had an hour's talk with him about the ill posture of things at this time, while the King gives countenance to Sir Charles Sedley and Lord Buckhurst. He tells me that he thinks his matters do stand well with the King, and hopes to have dispatch to his mind ; but I doubt it, and do see that he do fear it, too. He told me of my Lady Carteret's trouble about my writing of that letter of the Duke of York's lately to the Office, which I did not own, but declared to be of no injury to Sir G. Carteret, and that I would write a letter to him to satisfy him therein. But this I am in pain how to do, without doing myself wrong, and the end I had, of preparing a justification to myself hereafter, when the faults of the Navy come to be found

out: however, I will do it in the best manner I can. Thence by coach home and to dinner, finding my wife mightily discontented. All the evening busy, and my wife full of trouble in her looks and anon to bed, where about midnight she wakes me, and there falls foul of me again, and upon her pressing me I did offer to give her under my hand that I would never see Mrs. Pierce more nor Knipp, but did promise her particular demonstrations of my true love to her, owning some indiscretions in what I did, but that there was no harm in it. She at last upon these promises was quiet, and very kind we were, and so to sleep.

27th. This evening Mr. Spong came, and sat late with me, and first told me of the instrument called a parallelogram,¹ which I must have one of, shewing me his practice thereon, by a map of England.

28th. By coach with Mr. Gibson to Chancery Lane, and there made oath before a Master in Chancery to my Tangier account of fees, and so to White Hall, where, by and by, a Committee met, my Lord Sandwich there, but his report was not received, it being late; but only a little business done, about the supplying the place with victuals. But I did get, to my great content, my account allowed of fees, with great applause by my Lord Ashly and Sir W. Pen. Thence home, calling at one or two places; and there about our workmen, who are at work upon my wife's closet,

¹ Now generally called *pentagraph*. It is a very useful instrument, by means of which persons having no skill in drawing may copy designs, prints, &c., in any proportion.

and other parts of my house, that we are all in dirt.

29th. Mr. Wren first tells us of the order from the King, come last night to the Duke of York, for signifying his pleasure to the Solicitor-General for drawing up a Commission for suspending of my Lord Anglesey,¹ and putting in Sir Thomas Littleton and Sir Thomas Osborne,² the former a creature of Arlington's, and the latter of the Duke of Buckingham's, during the suspension. The Duke of York was forced to obey, and did grant it, he being to go to Newmarket this day with the King, and so the King pressed for it. But Mr. Wren do own that the Duke of York is the most wounded in this, in the world, for it is done and concluded without his privity, after his appearing for Lord Anglesey, and that it is plain that they do ayme to bring the Admiralty into Commission too, and lessen the Duke of York. This do put strange apprehensions into all our Board; only I think I am the least troubled at it, for I care not at all for it: but my Lord Brouncker and Pen do seem to think much of it.

¹ See, in "Memoirs relating to the Navy," 8vo, 1729, two warrants of 18th Oct. 1668, and 20th Oct. 1668, addressed by the Duke of York to Sir Heneage Finch, the Solicitor-General. The former directs him to prepare a warrant for his suspension, and the second to prepare a Bill for the royal signature, constituting and appointing Sir Thomas Osborne and Sir Thomas Lyttelton to the office of Treasurer of the Navy, hitherto filled by Lord Anglesey.

² Eldest son of Sir Edward Osborne, Bart.; made a Privy-Councillor 1672, and the following year constituted Lord High Treasurer, and elected K.G. in 1677. He was created Baron Osborne, of Kiveton, and Viscount Latimer, of Danby, 1673; Earl of Danby, 1674; Viscount Dunblaine, in Scotland, in 1675; Marquis of Caermarthen, 1689; and Duke of Leeds, 1694. Ob. 1712, æt. suæ 81.

30th. Up betimes ; and Mr. Povy comes to even accounts with me, which we did, and then fell to other talk. He tells, in short, how the King is made a child of, by Buckingham and Arlington, to the lessening of the Duke of York, whom they cannot suffer to be great, for fear of my Lord Chancellor's return, which, therefore, they make the King violent against. That he believes it is impossible these two great men can hold together long : or, at least, that the ambition of the former is so great, that he will endeavour to master all, and bring into play as many as he can. That Anglesey will not lose his place easily, but will contend in law with whoever comes to execute it. That the Duke of York, in all things, but in his amours, is led by the nose by his wife. That Sir W. Coventry is now, by the Duke of York made friends with the Duchess ; and that he is often there, and waits on her. That he do believe that these present great men will break in time, and that Sir W. Coventry will be a great man again ; for he do labour to have nothing to do in matters of the State, and is so usefull to the side that he is on, that he will stand, though at present he is quite out of play. That my Lady Castlemaine hates the Duke of Buckingham. That the Duke of York hath expressed himself very kind to my Lord Sandwich, which I am mighty glad of. That we are to expect more changes if these men stand. This done, he and I to talk of my coach, and I got him to go see it, where he finds most infinite fault with it, both as to being out of fashion and heavy, with so good reason

that I am mightily glad of his having corrected me in it; and so I do resolve to have one of his build, and with his advice, both in coach and horses, he being the fittest man in the world for it.

31st. This day my Lord Anglesey was at the Office, and do seem to make nothing of this business of his suspension, resolving to bring it into the Council, where he seems not to doubt to have right, he standing upon his defence and patent, and hath put in his caveats to the several Offices: so, as soon as the King comes back,¹ which will be on Tuesday next, he will bring it into the Council. Thus ends this month with some quiet to my mind, though not perfect, after the greatest falling out with my poor wife, and through my folly that ever I had, and I have reason to be sorry and ashamed of it, and more to be troubled for the poor girl's sake. This day Roger Pepys and his son Talbot, newly come to town, come and dined with me, and mighty glad I am to see them.

November 1st (Lord's day). This noon Mr. Povy sent his coach for my wife and I to see, which we like mightily, and will endeavour to have him get us just such another.

2nd. Up, and a cold morning, by water through bridge without a cloak, and there to Mr. Wren at his chamber at White Hall, the first time of his coming thither this year, the Duchess coming thither to-night, and there he and I did read over my paper that I have

¹ From Newmarket.

with so much labour drawn up about the several answers of the officers of this Office to the Duke of York's reflections, and did debate a little what advice to give the Duke of York when he comes to town upon it. So to visit Creed at his chamber, but his wife not come thither yet, nor do he tell me where she is, though she be in town, at Stepney, at Atkins's.¹ To Mr. Povy's about a coach, but there I find my Lords Sandwich, Peterborough, and Hinchingbroke, Charles Harbord, and Sidney Montagu; and there I was stopped, and dined mighty nobly at a little table, with one little dish at a time upon it, but mighty merry. I was glad to see it: but sorry, methought, to see my Lord have so little reason to be merry, and yet glad, for his sake, to have him cheerful. After dinner up, and looked up and down the house, and so to the cellar; and thence I slipt away, without taking leave. This day I went, by Mr. Povy's direction, to a coach-maker near him,² for a coach just like his, but it was sold this very morning.

3rd. All the morning at the Office. At noon to dinner, and then to the Office busy till 12 at night, without much pain to my eyes, but I did not use them to read or write, and so did hold out very well. So home, and there to supper, and I observed my wife to eye my eyes whether I did ever look upon Deb., which I could not but do now and then; and my wife

¹ Colonel Atkins: see 24th June, 1668.

² Mr. Povy lived in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Pepys no doubt went to Long Acre, then, as now, celebrated for its coachmakers.

did tell me in bed by the by of my looking on other people, and that the only way is to put things out of sight, and this I know she means by Deb., for she tells me her Aunt was here on Monday, and she did tell her of her desire of parting with Deb., but in such kind terms on both sides that my wife is mightily taken with it. I see it will be, and it is but necessary, and therefore, though it cannot but grieve me, yet I must bring my mind to give way to it. We had a great deal of do this day at the Office about Clutterbucke,¹ I declaring my dissent against the whole Board's proceedings, and I believe I shall go near to show W. Pen a very knave in it, whatever I find my Lord Brouncker.

4th. To White Hall; and there I find the King and Duke of York came the last night, and every body's mouth full of my Lord Anglesey's suspension being sealed, which it was, it seems, yesterday; so that he is prevented in his remedy at the Council; and, it seems, the two new Treasurers² did kiss the King's hand this morning, brought in by my Lord Arlington. They walked up and down together in the Court this day, and several people joyed them; but I avoided it, that I might not be seen to look either way. This day also I hear that my Lord Ormond is to be declared in Council no more Deputy Governor of Ireland, his commission being expired: and the King is prevailed with to take it out of his hands;

¹ See note to 4th Feb., 1663-4.

² Sir Thomas Osborne and Sir Thomas Lyttelton.

which people do mightily admire, saying that he is the greatest subject of any prince in Christendome, and hath more acres of land than any, and hath done more for his Prince than ever any yet did. But all will not do ; he must down, it seems, the Duke of Buckingham carrying all before him. But that, that troubles me most is, that they begin to talk that the Duke of York's regiment is ordered to be disbanded ; and more, that undoubtedly his Admiralty will follow : which do shake me mightily, and I fear will have ill consequences in the nation, for these counsels are very mad. The Duke of York do, by all men's report, carry himself wonderfull submissive to the King, in the most humble manner in the world : but yet, it seems, nothing must be spared that tends to the keeping out the Chancellor ; and that is the reason of all this. The great discourse now is, that the Parliament shall be dissolved and another called, which shall give the King the Dean and Chapter lands ; and that will put him out of debt. And it is said that Buckingham do knowingly meet daily with Wildman and other Commonwealth-men ; and that when he is with them, he makes the King believe that he is with his wenches ; and something looks like the Parliament's being dissolved, by Harry Brouncker's being now come back, and appearing this day the first time at White Hall ; but he hath not been yet with the King, but is secure that he shall be well received, I hear. God bless us, when such men as he shall be restored ! But that, that pleases me most is, that sev-

eral do tell me that Pen is to be removed ; and others, that he hath resigned his place ; and particularly Spragg tells me for certain that he hath resigned it, and is become a partner with Gauden in the Victualling : in which I think he hath done a very cunning thing ; but I am sure I am glad of it ; and it will be well for the King to have him out of this Office. Sir John 'Talbot' talks mighty high for my Lord of Ormond : and I perceive this family of the Talbots hath been raised by my Lord. This evening, my wife and I spent much time, talking of our being put out of the Office, and my going to live at Deptford at her brother's, till I can clear accounts, and rid my hands of the town, which will take me a year or more, and I do think it will be best for me to do so, in order to our living cheap, and out of sight.

5th. The Duke of York did call me and Mr. Wren ; and my paper, that I have lately taken pains to draw up, was read, and the Duke of York pleased therewith ; and we did all along conclude upon answers to my mind for the Board, and that which, if put in execution, will do the King's business. But I do now more and more perceive the Duke of York's trouble, and that he do lie under great weight of mind from the Duke of Buckingham's carrying things against him ; and particularly when I advised that he would use his interest that a seaman might come into the room of Sir W. Pen, who is now declared to be gone

¹ See 17th Jan., 1667-8, *ante*.

from us to that of the Victualling, and did show how the Office would now be left without one seaman in it, but the Surveyor and the Comptroller, who is so old as to be able to do nothing, he told me plainly that I knew his mind well enough as to seamen, but that it must be as others will. And Wren did tell it me as a secret, that when the Duke of York did first tell the King about Sir W. Pen's leaving of the place, and did move the King that either Captain Cox or Sir Jer. Smith might succeed him, the King did tell him that was a matter fit to be considered of, and would not agree to either presently; and so the Duke of York could not prevail for either, nor knows who it shall be. The Duke did tell me himself, that if he had not carried it privately when first he mentioned Pen's leaving his place to the King, it had not been done; for the Duke of Buckingham and those of his party do cry out upon it, as a strange thing to trust such a thing into the hands of one that stands accused in Parliament: and that they have so far prevailed upon the King that he would not have him named in the Council, but only take his name to the Board; but I think he said that only D. Gauden's name shall go in the patent; at least, at the time when Sir Richard Browne¹ asked the King the names of D. Gauden's security, the King told him it was not yet necessary for him to declare them. And by and by, when the Duke of York and we had done, Wren brought into the closet

¹ As Clerk of the Council.

Captain Cox and James Temple about business of the Guiney Company; and talking something of the Duke of Buckingham's concernment therein, says the Duke of York, "I will give the Devil his due, as they say the Duke of Buckingham hath paid in his money to the Company," or something of that kind, wherein he would do right to him. The Duke of York told me how these people do begin to cast dirt upon the business that passed the Council lately, touching Supernumeraries, as passed by virtue of his authority there, there being not liberty for any man to withstand what the Duke of York advises there; which, he told me, they bring only as an argument to insinuate the putting of the Admiralty into Commission, which by all men's discourse is now designed, and I perceive the same by him. This being done, and going from him, I up and down the house to hear news: and there every body's mouth full of changes; and, among others, the Duke of York's regiment of Guards, that was raised during the late war at sea, is to be disbanded: and also, that this day the King do intend to declare that the Duke of Ormond is no more Deputy of Ireland, but that he will put it into Commission. This day our new Treasurers did kiss the King's hand, who complimented them, as they say, very highly, — that he had for a long time been abused in his Treasurer, and that he was now safe in their hands. I saw them walk up and down the Court together all this morning; the first time I ever saw Osborne, who is a comely gentleman. This day

I was told that my Lord Anglesey did deliver a petition on Wednesday in Council to the King, laying open, that whereas he had heard that his Majesty had made such a disposal of his place, which he had formerly granted him for life upon a valuable consideration, and that, without any thing laid to his charge, and during a Parliament's sessions, he prayed that his Majesty would be pleased to let his case be heard before the Council and the Judges of the land, who were his proper counsel in all matters of right: to which, I am told, the King, after my Lord's being withdrawn, concluded upon his giving him an answer some few days hence; and so he was called in, and told so. At the Treasurer's, Sir Thomas Clifford, where I did eat some oysters; which while we were at, in comes my Lord Keeper¹ and much company; and so I thought it best to withdraw. And so away, and to the Swedes Agent's,² and there met Mr. Povy; where the Agent would have me stay and dine, there being only them, and Joseph Williamson, and Sir Thomas Clayton;³ but what he is I know not. Here much extraordinary noble discourse of foreign princes, and particularly the greatness of the King of France, and of his being fallen into the right way of making the kingdom great. I was mightily pleased with this company and their discourse. With Mr. Povy spent

¹ Sir Orlando Bridgman.

² Sir J. B. Leyenburg.

³ Thomas Clayton, M D., Professor of Physic, and Anatomy Lecturer at Oxford, for which University he was returned to serve in Parliament in 1660, and afterwards knighted, and made Warden of Merton College.

all the afternoon going up and down among the coach-makers in Cow Lane, and did see several, and at last did pitch upon a little chariott, whose body was framed, but not covered, at the widow's, that made Mr. Lowther's fine coach ; and we are mightily pleased with it, it being light, and will be very genteel and sober : to be covered with leather, but yet will hold four. Being much satisfied with this, I carried him to White Hall: Home, where I give my wife a good account of my day's work.

6th. Up, and presently my wife up with me, which she professedly now do every day to dress me, that I may not see Willett, and, do I move, whether I cast my eye upon her. To see Roger Pepys at his lodgings, next door to Arundel House, a barber's ; and there I did see a book, which my Lord Sandwich hath promised one to me of, "A Description of the Escuriall in Spain ;" ¹ which I have a great desire to have, though I took it for a finer book when he promised it

¹ The book alluded to by Pepys is that of the Father Francisco de los Santos first printed at Madrid in 1657. and entitled "Descripcion breve del Monasterio de S Lorenzo el Real del Escorial unica maravilla del mundo." It is in folio, and has some plates; but Pepys might well express his disappointment, for the appearance of the volume does not answer to the magnificence of the subject. About the time when Pepys wrote, or soon after, the Escorial received some damage by fire, and was even said to be totally destroyed: and in that belief, an abstract of Father Francisco's work was published in 1671, purporting to be "translated into English by a servant of the Earl of Sandwich." That a great amount of damage was really done, is proved by the title of the third edition of the work, printed in Madrid in 1681, which says that the Escorial was rebuilt, after the fire, by Charles II.; and Santos, then alive, asserts the same, in his dedication to that King, comparing him to the restorers of Solomon's Temple.

me. With him to see my cozen Turner and The., and there sat and talked, they being come out of the country ; and here pretty merry, and so home, with my mind troubled and finding no content, my wife being still troubled.

7th. This afternoon I did go out towards Sir D. Gauden's, thinking to have bespoke a place for my coach and horses, when I have them, at the Victualling Office : but find the way so bad and long that I returned, and looked up and down for places elsewhere, in an inne, which I hope to get with more convenience than there.

8th (Lord's day). Up, and at my chamber all the morning, setting papers to rights, with my boy ; and so to dinner at noon.

9th. The Duke of York told me that Sir W. Pen had been with him this morning, to ask whether it would be fit for him to sit at the Office now, because of his resolution to be gone, and to become concerned in the Victualling. The Duke of York answered, "Yes, till his contract was signed." Thence I to Lord Sandwich's, and there to see him ; but was made to stay very long, as his best friends are, and when I came to him had little pleasure, his head being full of his own business, I think. Thence to White Hall with him, to a Committee of Tangier ; a day appointed for him to give an account of Tangier, and what he did, and found there, which, though he had admirable matter for it, and his doings there were good, and would have afforded a noble account,

yet he did it with a mind so low and mean, and delivered in so poor a manner, that it appeared nothing at all, nor any body seemed to value it; whereas, he might have shown himself to have merited extraordinary thanks, and been held to have done a very great service: whereas now, all that cost the King hath been at for his journey through Spain thither, seems to be almost lost. After we were up, Creed and I walked together, and did talk a good while of the weak Report my Lord made, and were troubled for it; I fearing that either his mind and judgment are depressed, or that he do it out of his great neglect, and so that he do all the rest of his affairs accordingly. I staid about the Court a little while, and then to look for a dinner, and had it at Hercules-Pillars, very late, all alone, costing me 10*d*.

11th. To the Office, where, by a speciall desire, the new Treasurers came, and there did show their Patent, and the Great Seal for the suspension of my Lord Anglesey: and here did sit and discourse of the business of the Office: and brought Mr. Hutchinson with them, who, I hear, is to be their Paymaster, in the room of Mr. Waith. For it seems they do turn out every servant that belongs to the present Treasurer: and so for Fenn, do bring in Mr. Littleton, Sir Thomas's brother, and oust all the rest. But Mr. Hutchinson do already see that his work now will be another kind of thing than before, as to the trouble of it. They gone, and, indeed, they appear, both of them, very intelligent men, I home to dinner. Then

by coach to my cozen Roger Pepys, who did, at my last being with him this day se'nnight, move me as to the supplying him with 500*l.* this term, and 500*l.* the next, for two years, upon a mortgage, he having that sum to pay, a debt left him by his father, which I did agree to, trusting to his honesty and ability, and am resolved to do it for him, that I may not have all I have, lie in the King's hands.

12th. Up, and my wife with me as heretofore, and so I to the Office, and at noon to dinner, and Mr. Wayth with me, who is in mighty trouble from the Committee of Accounts about his contracting with this Office for sayle-cloth, but no hurt can be laid at his door in it, but upon us for doing it, if any, though we did it by the Duke of York's approval. So having dined we parted, and to my wife and to sit with her a little, and then called her and Willet to my chamber and there did, with tears in my eyes, which I could not help, discharge her and advise her to be gone as soon as she could, and never to see me, or let me see her more, which she took with tears too. Thence, parting kindly with my wife, I away by coach to my cozen Roger, according as by mistake, which the trouble of my mind for some days has occasioned, is set down in yesterday's notes, and so back again, and with Mr. Gibson late at my chamber, making an end of my draught of a letter for the Duke of York, in answer to the answers of this Office, which I have now done to my mind, so as, if the Duke likes it, will, I think, put an end to a great deal of the faults

of this Office, as well as my trouble for them. So to bed.

13th. Up, and with Sir W. Pen by coach to White Hall, where to the Duke of York, and there did our usual business; and thence I to the Commissioners of the Treasury, where I staid, and heard an excellent case argued between my Lord Gerard and the Town of Newcastle, about a piece of ground which that Lord hath got a grant of, under the Exchequer Seal, which they were endeavouring to get of the King under the Great Seal. I liked mightily the Counsel for the town, Shafto,¹ their Recorder, and Mr. Offly.² But I was troubled, and so were the Lords,³ to hear my Lord fly out against their⁴ great pretence of merit from the King, for their sufferings and loyalty; telling them that they might thank him for that repute which they have for their loyalty, for that it was he that forced them to be so, against their wills, when he was there: and, moreover, did offer a paper to the Lords to read from the Town, sent in 1648; but the Lords would not read it; but I believe it was something about bringing the King to trial, or some such thing, in that year. Thence I to the Three Tuns Tavern, by Charing Cross, and there dined with W. Pen, Sir J. Minnes, and Commissioner Middleton; and as merry as my

¹ Robert Shafto, knighted 26th June, 1670. He died in 1704, and was buried in St. Nicholas's Church, Newcastle. He married Katharine, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Widrington, of the Grange, Yorkshire.

² See 30th March, 1668. It was he who, in 1673, petitioned against Pepys's return for Castle Rising. See "Life," in vol. i.

³ The Lords Commissioners.

⁴ The inhabitants of Newcastle.

mind could be, that hath so much trouble upon it at home. And thence to White Hall, and there staid in Mr. Wren's chamber with him, reading over my draught of a letter, which Mr. Gibson then attended me with; and there he did like all, but doubted whether it would be necessary for the Duke to write in so sharp a style to the Office, as I had drawn it in; which I yield to him, to consider the present posture of the times and the Duke of York, and whether it were not better to err on that hand than the other. He told me that he did not think it was necessary for the Duke of York to do so, and that it would not suit so well with his nature nor greatness; which last, perhaps, is true, but then do too truly show the effects of having Princes in places, where order and discipline should be. I left it to him to do as the Duke of York pleases; and so fell to other talk, and with great freedom, of public things; and he told me, upon my several inquiries to that purpose, that he did believe it was not yet resolved whether the Parliament should ever meet more or no, the three great rulers of things now standing thus:—The Duke of Buckingham is absolutely against their meeting, as moved thereto by his people that he advises with, the people of the late times, who do never expect to have any thing done by this Parliament for their religion, and who do propose that, by the sale of the Church-lands, they shall be able to put the King out of debt: my Lord Keeper is utterly against putting away this and choosing another Parliament, lest they prove worse than this, and

will make all the King's friends, and the King himself, in a desperate condition: my Lord Arlington knows not which is best for him, being to seek whether this or the next will use him worst. He tells me that he believes that it is intended to call this Parliament, and try them for a sum of money; and, if they do not like it, then to send them going, and call another, who will, at the ruin of the Church perhaps, please the King with what he will have for a time. And he tells me, therefore, that he do believe that this policy will be endeavoured by the Church and their friends — to seem to promise the King money, when it shall be propounded, but make the King and these great men buy it dear, before they have it. He tells me that he is really persuaded that the design of the Duke of Buckingham is, by bringing the state into such a condition as, if the King do die without issue, it shall, upon his death, break into pieces again; and so put by the Duke of York, whom they have disobliged, they know, to that degree, as to despair of his pardon. He tells me that there is no way to rule the King but by brisknesse, which the Duke of Buckingham hath above all men; and that the Duke of York having it not, his best way is what he practices, that is to say, a good temper, which will support him till the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington fall out, which cannot be long first, the former knowing that the latter did, in the time of the Chancellor, endeavour with the Chancellor to hang him at that time, when he was proclaimed against. And here, by the by, he

told me that the Duke of Buckingham did, by his friends, treat with my Lord Chancellor, by the mediation of Matt. Wren and Clifford, to fall in with my Lord Chancellor; which, he tells me, he did advise my Lord Chancellor to accept of, as that, that with his own interest and the Duke of York's, would undoubtedly have secured all to him and his family; but that my Lord Chancellor was a man not to be advised, thinking himself too high to be counselled: and so all is come to nothing; for by that means the Duke of Buckingham became desperate, and was forced to fall in with Arlington, to the Chancellor's ruin. Thence I home, and there to talk, with great pleasure all the evening, with my wife, who tells me that Deb. has been abroad to-day, and says she has got a place to go to, so as she will be gone to-morrow morning. My wife told me she would not have me to see her or give her her wages, and so I did give my wife 10*l.* for her year and half a quarter's wages, and so to bed and there, blessed be God! we did sleep well and with peace, which I had not done in now almost twenty nights together. This morning, at the Treasury-chamber, I did meet Jack Fenn, and there he did show me my Lord Anglesey's petition and the King's answer: the former good and stout, as I before did hear it: but the latter short and weak, saying that he was not, by what the King had done, hindered from taking the benefit of his laws, and that the reason he had to suspect his mismanagement of his money in Ireland, did make him think it unfit to trust him with

his Treasury in England, till he was satisfied in the former.

14th. Up, and my wife rose presently, and would not let me be out of her sight, and went down before me into the kitchen, and came up and told me that she was in the kitchen, and therefore would have me go round the other way ; which she repeating and I vexed at it, answered her a little angrily, upon which she instantly flew into a rage, calling me dog and rogue, and that I had a rotten heart ; all which, knowing that I deserved it, I bore with, and word being brought presently up that she was gone away by coach with her things, my wife was friends, and so all quiet, and I to the Office, with my heart sad, and troubled to see how my wife is by this means likely for ever to have her hand over me, that I shall for ever be a slave to her — that is to say, only in matters of pleasure, but in other things she will make it her business, I know, to please me and to keep me right to her, which I will labour to be indeed, for she deserves it of me. At the Office all the morning, and merry at noon, at dinner ; and after dinner to the Office, where all the afternoon, doing much business, late.

15th (Lord's day). After dinner, W. Howe to tell me what hath happened between him and the Commissioners of late, who are hot again, more than ever, about my Lord Sandwich's business of prizes, which I am troubled for, and the more, because of the great security and neglect with which, I think, my Lord do look upon this matter, that may yet, for aught I know,

undo him. They gone, and Balty being come from the Downs, not very well, is come this day to see us, I to talk with him, and with some pleasure, hoping that he will make a good man. I in the evening to my Office again, to make an end of my Journall, and so to supper and to bed, with my mind pretty quiet.

16th. Up, and by water to White Hall, and there at the robe chamber at a Committee for Tangier, where some of us — my Lord Sandwich, Sir W. Coventry, and myself, with another or two — met to debate the business of the Mole, and there drew up reasons for the King's taking of it into his own hands, and managing of it upon accounts with Sir H. Cholmley. I did call at Martin's, my bookseller's, and there bought "*Cassandra*,"¹ and some other French books for my wife's closet, and so home, having eat nothing but two pennyworths of oysters, opened for me by a woman in the Strand.

17th. To the Office all the morning, where the new Treasurers come, their second time, and before they sat down, did discourse with the Board, and particularly my Lord Brouncker, about their place,² which they challenge, as having been heretofore due, and given to their predecessor; which, at last, my Lord did own hath been given him only out of courtesy to his quality, and that he did not take it as a right at

¹ A romance, by Gualtier de Costes, Seigneur de la Calprenède. It had been recently translated into English by Sir Charles Cotterell, noticed 8th Sept., 1667.

² *i. e.*, precedence.

the Board : so they, for the present, sat down, and did give him the place, but, I think, with an intent to have the Duke of York's directions about it. My wife and maids busy now, to make clean the house above stairs, the upholsters having done there, in her closet and the blue room, and they are mighty pretty.

19th. At the Office all the morning, and at noon running up stairs to see the upholsters, who are at work upon hanging my best room, and setting up my new bed, I found my wife sitting sad in the dining room ; which enquiring into the reason of, she begun to call me all the false, rotten hearted rogues in the world, letting me understand that I was with Deb. yesterday, which, thinking it impossible for her ever to understand, I did for a while deny, but at last, for the ease of my mind and hers, and for ever to discharge my heart of this wicked business, I did confess all, and I did endure the sorrow of her threats and vows and curses all the afternoon, and what was worse, she swore by all that was good that she would be gone herself this very night from me, and did there demand 3 or 400*l*. of me to buy my peace, or else protested that she would make all the world know of it. So with most perfect confusion of face and heart, and sorrow and shame, in the greatest agony in the world I did pass this afternoon, fearing that it will never have an end ; but at last I did call for W. Hewer, who I was forced to make privy now to all, and the poor fellow did cry like a child, and obtained what I could not, that she would be pacified upon condition that I

would give it under my hand never to see or speak with Deb. while I live, as I did before with Pierce and Knipp. So, before it was late, there was, beyond my hopes as well as desert, a durable peace; and so to supper, and pretty kind words, and so with some rest spent the night in bed, being most absolutely resolved, if ever I can master this bout, never to give her occasion while I live of more trouble of this or any other kind, there being no curse in the world so great as this of the differences between myself and her, and therefore I do, by the grace of God, promise never to offend her more, and did this night begin to pray to God upon my knees alone in my chamber, which God knows I cannot yet do heartily; but I hope God will give me the grace more and more every day to fear Him, and to be true to my poor wife. This night the upholsters did finish the hanging of my best chamber, but my sorrow and trouble is so great about this business, that it puts me out of all joy in looking upon it or minding how it was.

20th. This morning up, with mighty kind words between my poor wife and I; and so to White Hall by water, W. Hewer with me, who is to go with me every where, until my wife be in condition to go out along with me herself; for she do plainly declare that she dares not trust me out alone, and therefore made it a piece of our league that I should alway take some body with me, or her herself, which I am mighty willing to do, being, by the grace of God, resolved never to do her wrong more. We landed at the Tem-

ple, and there I did bid him call at my cozen Roger Pepys's lodgings ; and so to White Hall, in my way I telling him plainly and truly my resolutions, if I can get over this evil, never to give new occasion for it. He is, I think, so honest and true a servant to us both, and one that loves us, that I was not much troubled at his being privy to all this, but rejoiced in my heart that I had him to assist in the making us friends, which he did truly and heartily, and with good success. At White Hall with the Duke of York, doing our ordinary business with him, here being also the first time the new Treasurers ; and so I took him into St. James's Park, and there I did enter into more talk about my wife and myself, and he did give me great assurance of several particular cases to which my wife had from time to time made him privy of her loyalty and truth to me after many and great temptations, and I believe them truly. I did also discourse the unfitness of my leaving of my employment now in many respects to go into the country, as my wife desires, but that I would labour to fit myself for it, which he thoroughly understands, and do agree with me in it ; and so, hoping to get over this trouble, we about our business to Westminster Hall to meet Roger Pepys, which I did, and did there discourse of the business of lending him 500*l.* to answer some occasions of his, which I believe to be safe enough, and away by coach home, calling on my coachmaker by the way, where I like my little coach mightily. But when I came home, hoping for a further degree of

peace and quiet, I found my wife upon her bed in a horrible rage afresh, calling me all the bitter names, and, rising, did fall to revile me in the bitterest manner in the world, and could not refrain to strike me and pull my hair, which I resolved to bear with, and had good reason to bear it. So I by silence and weeping did prevail with her a little to be quiet, and she would not eat her dinner without me ; but yet by and by into a raging fit she fell again, worse than before, that she would slit the girl's nose, and at last W. Hewer came in and came up, who did allay her fury, I flinging myself, in a sad desperate condition, upon the bed in the blue room, and there lay while they spoke together ; and at last it came to this, that if I would write to Deb. that I hated her, and would never see her more, she would believe me and trust in me, which I did agree to. So from that minute my wife begun to be kind to me, and we to kiss and be friends, and so continued all the evening, and fell to talk of other matters, with great comfort. This evening comes Mr. Billup to me, to read over Mr. Wren's alterations of my draught of a letter for the Duke of York to sign, to the Board ; which I like mighty well, they being not considerable, only in mollifying some hard terms, which I had thought fit to put in. From this to other discourse ; and do find that the Duke of York and his master, Mr. Wren, do look upon this service of mine as a very seasonable service to the Duke, as that which he will have to show to his enemies in his own justification, of his

care of the King's business ; and I am sure I am heartily glad of it, both for the King's sake and the Duke of York's, and my own also ; for, if I continue here, my work, by this means, will be the less, and my share in the blame also. He being gone, I to my wife again, and so spent the evening with very great joy, and the night also with good sleep and rest, for which the God of Heaven be praised. I did this night promise to my wife never to go to bed without calling upon God upon my knees by prayer, and I begun this night, and hope I shall never forget to do the like all my life ; for I do find that it is much the best for my soul and body to live pleasing to God and my poor wife, and will ease me of much care as well as much expense.

21st. At the Office all the morning ; and after dinner abroad with W. Hewer to my Lord Ashly's, where my Lord Barkeley and Sir Thomas Ingram¹ met upon Mr. Povy's account, where I was in great pain about that part of his account wherein I am concerned, above 150*l.*, I think ; and Creed hath declared himself dissatisfied with it, so far as to desire to cut his "Examinatur" out of the paper, as the only condition in which he would be silent in it. This Povy had the wit to yield to ; and so when it come to be inquired into, I did avouch the truth of the account as to that particular, of my own knowledge, and so it went over as a thing good and just — as, indeed, in

¹ See 9th Jan., 1664-5, *ante*.

the bottom of it, it is ; though in strictness, perhaps, it would not so well be understood. The Committee rising, I, with my mind much satisfied therein, away by coach home, setting Creed in Southampton Buildings, and so home ; and there ended my letters, and then home to my wife, where I find my house clean now, from top to bottom, so as I have not seen it many a day, and to the full satisfaction of my mind, that I am now at peace, as to my poor wife, as to the dirtiness of my house, and as to seeing an end, in a great measure, to my present great disbursements upon my house, and coach and horses.

22nd (Lord's day). My wife and I lay long, with mighty content ; and so rose, and she spent the whole day making herself clean, after four or five weeks being in continued dirt ; and I knocking up nails, and making little settlements in my house, till noon, and then eat a bit of meat in the kitchen, I all alone. And so to the Office, to set down my journall, for some days leaving it imperfect, the matter being mighty grievous to me, and my mind, from the nature of it ; and so in, to solace myself with my wife, whom I got to read to me, and so W. Hewer and the boy ; and so, after supper, to bed. This day my boy's livery is come home, the first I ever had, of greene, lined with red ; and it likes me well enough.

23rd. Up, and called upon by W. Howe, who went, with W. Hewer with me, by water, to the Temple ; his business was to have my advice about a place he is going to buy—the Clerk of the Patent's place,

which I understand not, and so could say little to him. To visit Lord Sandwich, who is now so reserved, or moped rather, I think, with his own business, that he bids welcome to no man, I think, to his satisfaction. However, I bear with it, being willing to give him as little trouble as I can, and to receive as little from him, wishing only that I had my money in my purse, that I have lent him; but, however, I shew no discontent at all. I met with Mr. Povy, who tells me that this discourse which I told him of, of the Duke of Monmouth being made Prince of Wales, hath nothing in it; though he thinks there are all the endeavours used in the world to overthrow the Duke of York. He would not have me doubt of my safety in the Navy, which I am doubtful of from the reports of a general removal; but he will endeavour to inform me, what he can gather from my Lord Arlington. That he do think that the Duke of Buckingham hath a mind rather to overthrow all the kingdom, and bring in a Commonwealth, wherein he may think to be General of their Army, or to make himself King, which, he believes; he may be led to, by some advice which he hath had with conjurors, which he do affect. Thence with W. Hewer, who goes up and down with me like a jailor, but yet with great love and to my great good liking, it being my desire above all things to please my wife therein. I took up my wife and boy to Hercules Pillars, and there dined, and thence to our upholster's, about some things more to buy, and so to see our coach, and so to the looking-glass

man's, by the New Exchange, and so to buy a picture for our blue chamber chimney, and so home; and there I made my boy to read to me most of the night, to get through the Life of the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹ At supper comes Mary Batelier, and with us all the evening, prettily talking, and very innocent company she is; and she gone, we with much content to bed, and to sleep, with mighty rest all night.

24th. Up, and at the Office all the morning, and at noon home to dinner, where Mr. Gentleman, the cook, and an old woman, his third or fourth wife, come and dined with us, to enquire about a ticket of his son's, that is dead; and after dinner, I with Mr. Hosier to my closet, to discourse of the business of balancing Storekeeper's accounts, which he hath taken great pains in reducing to a method, to my great satisfaction; and I shall be glad for both the King's sake and his, that the thing may be put in practice, and will do my part to promote it. That done, he gone, I to the Office, where busy till night; and then with comfort to sit with my wife, and get her to read to me, and so to supper, and to bed, with my mind at mighty ease.

25th. By coach with W. Hewer to see Sir W. Coventry; but he gone out, I to White Hall, and there waited on Lord Sandwich, which I have little encouragement to do, because of the difficulty of seeing him, and the little he hath to say to me when I do see him,

¹ Laud: see *ante*, 16th Sept., 1668.

or to any body else, but his own idle people about him, Sir Charles Harbord, &c. Thence walked with him to White Hall, where to the Duke of York; and there the Duke, and Wren, and I, by appointment in his closet, to read over our letter to the Office, which he heard, and signed it, and it is to my mind, Mr. Wren having made it somewhat sweeter to the Board, and yet with all the advice fully, that I did draw it up with. The Duke said little more to us now, his head being full of other business; but I do see that he do continue to put a value upon my advice; and so Mr. Wren and I to his chamber, and there talked: and he seems to hope that these people, the Duke of Buckingham and Arlington, will run themselves off their legs; they being forced to be always putting the King upon one ill thing or another, against the easiness of his nature, which he will never be able to bear, nor they to keep him to, and so will lose themselves. And, for instance of their little progress, he tells me that my Lord of Ormond is like yet to carry it, and to continue in his command in Ireland; at least, they cannot get the better of him yet. But he tells me that the Keeper¹ is wrought upon, as they say, to give his opinion for the dissolving of the Parliament, which, he thinks, will undo him in the eyes of the people. He do not seem to own the hearing or fearing of any thing to be done in the Admiralty, to the lessening of the Duke of York, though he hears how the town-talk

¹ Lord Keeper; Sir Orlando Bridgman.

is full of it. Thence I by coach home, and there find my cozen Roger come to dine with me, and to seal his mortgage for the 500*l*. I lend him; but he and I first walked to the 'Change, there to look for my uncle Wight, and get him to dinner with us. So home, buying a barrel of oysters at my old oyster-woman's, in Gracious Street, but over the way to where she kept her shop before. Merry at dinner; and the money not being ready, I carried Roger Pepys to Holborn Conduit,¹ and there left him going to Stradwick's,² whom we avoided to see, because of our long absence, and my wife and I to the Duke of York's house, to see "The Duchesse of Malfy," a sorry play, and sat with little pleasure, for fear of my wife's seeing me look about, and so I was uneasy all the while, though I desire and resolve never to give her trouble of that kind more. So home, and there busy at the Office a while, and then home, where my wife to read to me, and so to supper, and to bed. This evening, to my great content, I got Sir Richard Ford to give me leave to set my coach in his yard.

26th. At the Office all the morning, where I was to have delivered the Duke of York's letter of advice to the Board, in answer to our several answers to his great letter; but Lord Brouncker not being there, and doubt-

¹ Stowe speaks of "the Conduit of Holborn Cross, erected about 1498: again new made by Mr. William Lamb, 1557. Hence called Lamb's Conduit."

² Pepys's cousin, Thomas Stradwick: see 13th Sept., 1660. Bunyan died in 1688, at the house of his friend, Mr. Stradwick, a grocer, at the sign of the *Star, on Snow Hill*.

ful to deliver it before the new Treasurer, I forbore it till the next sitting. So home at noon to dinner, where I find Mr. Pierce and his wife : but I was forced to show very little pleasure in her being there because of my vow to my wife ; and, therefore, was glad of a very bad occasion for my being really troubled, which is, at W. Hewer's losing of a tally of 1000*l.*, which I sent him this day to receive of the Commissioners of Excise.

27th. Up ; and with W. Hewer to see Sir W. Coventry, but missed him again, by coming too late, the man of all the world that I am resolved to preserve an interest in. Thence to White Hall, and there at our usual waiting on the Duke of York ; and that being done, I away to the Exchequer, to give a stop, and take some advice about my lost tally, wherein I shall have some remedy, with trouble. So home, and there find Mr. Povy, by appointment, to dine with me ; and much pleasant discourse with him, and some serious ; and he tells me that he would, by all means, have me get to be a Parliament-man the next Parliament. By and by comes my cozen Roger, and dines with us ; and, after dinner, did seal his mortgage, wherein I do wholly rely on his honesty, not having so much as read over what he hath given me for it, nor minded it, but do trust to his integrity therein.

28th All the morning at the Office, where, while I was sitting, one comes and tells me that my coach is come. So I was forced to go out, and to Sir Richard Ford's, where I spoke to him, and he is very willing to

have it brought in, and stand there ; and so I ordered it, to my great content, it being mighty pretty, only the horses do not please me, and, therefore, resolve to have better. This day I presented to the Board the Duke of York's letter,¹ which, I perceive, troubled Sir W. Pen, he declaring himself meant in that part, that concerned excuse by sickness ; but I do not care, but am mightily glad that it is done, and now I shall begin to be at pretty good ease in the Office. This morning, to my great content, W. Hewer tells me that a porter is come, who found my tally in Holborn, and brings it him, for which he gives him 20s.

29th (Lord's day). Lay long in bed with pleasure with my wife, with whom I have now a great deal of content, and my mind is in other things also mightily more at ease, and I do mind my business better than ever and am more at peace, and trust in God I shall ever be so, though I cannot yet get my mind off from thinking now and then of Deb., but I do ever since my promise a while since to my wife pray to God by myself in my chamber every night, and will endeavour to get my wife to do the like with me ere long, but am in much fear of what she has lately frighted me with about her being a Catholique ; and I dare not, therefore, move her to go to church, for fear she should deny me ; but this morning, of her own accord, she spoke of going to church the next Sunday, which pleases me mightily. This morning my coachman's

¹ Dated, White Hall, 25th Nov., 1668. See a copy of it in Harl. MS., 6003.

clothes come home ; and I like the livery mightily. All the morning in my chamber, and dined with my wife, and got her to read to me in the afternoon, till Sir W. Warren, by appointment, comes to me, who spent two hours, or three, with me, about his accounts in Gottenburgh,¹ which are so confounded, that I doubt they will hardly ever pass without my doing something, which he desires of me, and which, partly from fear, and partly from unwillingness to wrong the King, and partly from its being of no profit to me, I am backward to give away to, though the poor man do indeed deserve to be rid of this trouble, that he hath lain so long under, from the negligence of this Board. He tells me, as soon as he saw my coach yesterday, he wished that the owner might not contract envy by it ;² but I told him it was now manifestly for my profit to keep a coach, and that, after employments like mine for eight years, it were hard if I could not

¹ Probably for timber.

² Though our Journalist prided himself not a little upon becoming possessed of a carriage, the acquisition was regarded with envy and jealousy by his enemies, as will appear by the following extract from the scurrilous pamphlet noticed in the "Life," in which Pepys and Hewer are severely handled. "There is one thing more you must be mightily sorry for with all speed. Your presumption in your coach, in which you daily ride, as if you had been son and heir to the great Emperor Neptune, or as if you had been infallibly to have succeeded him in his government of the Ocean, all which was presumption in the highest degree. First, you had upon the fore part of your chariot, tempestuous waves and wrecks of ships; on your left hand, forts and great guns, and ships a fighting; on your right hand was a fair harbour and galleys riding, with their flags and pennants spread, kindly saluting each other, just like P[epys] and H[ewer]. Behind it were high curled waves and ships a sinking, and here and there an appearance of some bits of land."

be thought to be justly able to do that. To supper; and so my wife to read, and made an end of the *Life of Archbishop Laud*, which is worth reading, as informing a man plainly in the posture of the Church, and how the things of it were managed with the same self-interest and design that every other thing is, and have succeeded accordingly.

30th. With W. Hewer, who is my guard, to White Hall, to a Committee of Tangier, where the business of Mr. Lanyon took up all the morning; and, poor man! he did manage his business with so much folly, and ill fortune to boot, that the Board, before his coming in, inclining, of their own accord, to lay his cause aside, and leave it to the law, he pressed that we would hear it, and it ended to the making him appear a very knave, as well as it did to me, a fool also, which I was sorry for. Thence by water, Mr. Povy, Creed, and I, to Arundell House, and there I did see them choosing their Council, it being St. Andrew's-day;¹ and I had his Cross² set on my hat, as the rest had, and cost me 2s. My wife, after dinner, went the first time abroad in her coach, calling on Roger Pepys, and visiting Mrs. Creed, and my cozen Turner, while I at home all the afternoon and evening, very busy and doing much work, to my great content. There comes Mr. Turner

¹ The annual meeting of the Royal Society is still held on that day.

² The cross of St. Andrew, like that of St. Patrick, is a saltire. The two, mixed in a very strange manner with the cross of St. George, form the Union flag. There is a very good paper on the subject, written by the late Sir N. H. Nicolas, in *Brayley's "Graphic Illustrator,"* p. 65.

and Betty to see us and supped with us, and I showed them a cold civility for fear of troubling my wife. Thus ended this month, with very good content, that hath been the most sad to my heart and the most expensive to my purse on things of pleasure, having furnished my wife's closet and the best chamber, and a coach and horses, that ever I knew in the world ; and I am put into the greatest condition of outward state that ever I was in, or hoped ever to be, or desired : and this at a time when we do daily expect great changes in this Office ; and by all reports we must, all of us, turn out. But my eyes are come to that condition that I am not able to work ; and therefore that, and my wife's desire, make me have no manner of trouble in my thoughts about it. So God do his will in it !

December 1st. Very busy till night, and then home and made my boy read to me Wilkins' Reall Character, which do please me mightily, and so after supper to bed with great pleasure and content with my wife. This day I hear of poor Mr. Clerke, the solicitor, being dead, of a cold, after being not above two days ill, which troubles me mightily, poor man !

2nd. Abroad with W. Hewer, thinking to have found Mr. Wren at Captain Cox's, to have spoke something to him about doing a favour for Will's uncle Steventon, but missed him. And so back again and abroad with my wife, the first time that ever I rode in my own coach, which do make my heart rejoice, and praise God, and pray him to bless it to me and con-

tinue it. So she and I to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Usurper;" a pretty good play, in all but what is designed to resemble Cromwell and Hugh Peters, which is mighty silly. The play done, we to White Hall; where my wife staid while I up to the Duchess's and Queen's side, to speak with the Duke of York: and here saw all the ladies, and heard the silly discourse of the King, with his people about him, telling a story of my Lord Rochester's having of his clothes stole, while he was with a wench; and his gold all gone, but his clothes found afterwards stuffed in a feather bed by the wench that stole them. I spoke with the Duke of York, just as he was set down to supper with the King, about our sending of victuals to Sir Thomas Allen's fleet hence to Cales [Cadiz], to meet him. And so back to my wife in my coach, and so with great content and joy home, where I made my boy to make an end of the Reall Character, which do please me infinitely and indeed is a most worthy labour and I think mighty easy, though my eyes make me unable to attempt any thing in it. To-day I hear that Mr. Ackworth's cause went for him at Guildhall, against his accusers, which I am well enough pleased with.

3rd. Mr. Wren gives me but small hopes of the favour I hoped to get for Mr. Steventon, Will's uncle, of having leave, being upon the point of death, to surrender his place, which do trouble me, but I will do what I can. To the Office, Sir Jer. Smith with me; who is a silly, prating, talking man; but he tells what

he hears,—that Holmes and Spragg now rule all with the Duke of Buckingham, as to sea-business, and will be great men: but he do prophesy what will be the fruit of it; so I do. So to the Office, where we sat all the morning; and at noon home to dinner, and then abroad again, with my wife, to the Duke of York's playhouse, and saw "The Unfortunate Lovers;" a mean play, I think, but some parts very good, and excellently acted. We sat under the boxes, and saw the fine ladies; among others, my Lady Kerneguy,¹ who is most devilishly painted. And so home, it being mighty pleasure to go alone with my poor wife, in a coach of our own, to a play, and makes us appear mighty great, I think, in the world; at least, greater than ever I could, or my friends for me, have once expected; or, I think, than ever any of my family ever yet lived, in my memory, but my cozen Pepys in Salisbury Court.

4th. Did wait as usual upon the Duke of York, where, upon discoursing something touching the Ticket-Office, which by letter the Board did give the Duke of York their advice, to be put upon Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes did foolishly rise up and complain of the Office, and his being made nothing of; and this before Sir Thomas Littleton, who would be glad of this difference among us, which did trouble me mightily; and therefore I did forbear to say what I otherwise would have thought fit for me to say on this occasion, upon so impertinent a speech as this doting fool made—but, I say, I let it alone, and contented myself that it

¹ See note to 19th March, 1665.

went as I advised, as to the Duke of York's judgment, in the thing disputed. Home, where by invitation I find my aunt Wight, who looked over all our house, and is mighty pleased with it, and indeed it is now mighty handsome, and rich in furniture. I carried my wife and her to Smithfield, where they sit in the coach, while Mr. Pickering, who met me there, and I, and W. Hewer, and a friend of his, a jockey, did go about to see several pairs of horses, for my coach ; but it was late, and we agreed on none, but left it to another time : but here I do see instances of a piece of craft and cunning that I never dreamed of, concerning the buying and choosing of horses. So Mr. Pickering, to whom I am much beholden for his kindness herein, and I parted ; and I with my people home. To the Office, where vexed to see how ill all the Comptroller's business is likely to go on, so long as ever Sir J. Minnes lives ; and so troubled I was, that I thought it a good occasion for me to give my thoughts of it in writing, and therefore wrote a letter at the Board, by the help of a tube, to Lord Brouncker, and did give it him, which I kept a copy of, and it may be of use to me hereafter to show, in this matter. This being done, I home to my aunt, who supped with us, and my uncle also : and a good-humoured woman she is, so that I think we shall keep her acquaintance ; but mighty proud she is of her wedding-ring, being lately set with diamonds ; cost her about 12*l.* : and I did commend it mightily to her, but do not think it very suitable for one of our quality.

5th. Up after a little talk with my wife, which troubled me, she being ever since our late difference mighty watchful of my sleep and dreams, and will not be persuaded but I do dream of Deb., and do tell me that I speak in my dreams and that this night I did cry, Huzzy, and it must be she, and now and then I start otherwise than I used to do, which I know not, for I do not know that I dream of her more than usual, though I cannot deny that my thoughts waking do run now and then against my will and judgment upon her, for that only is wanting to undo me, being now in every other thing as to my mind most happy and may still be so but for my own fault if I be caught loving any body but my wife again. No news stirring, but that my Lord of Ormond is likely to go to Ireland again, which do show that the Duke of Buckingham do not rule all so absolutely; and that, however, we shall speedily have more changes in the Navy: and it is certain that the Nonconformists do now preach openly in houses, in many places, and among others the house that was heretofore Sir G. Carteret's, in Leadenhall Streete, and have ready access to the King. And now the great dispute is, whether this Parliament or another; and my great design, if I continue in the Navy, is to get myself to be a Parliament-man.

6th (Lord's day). Up, and with my wife to church; which pleases me mightily, I being full of fear that she would never go to church again, after she had declared to me that she was a Roman Catholick. But though I do verily think she fears God, and is truly and sincerely

righteous, yet I do see she is not so strictly a Catho-lick as not to go to church with me, which pleases me mightily. Here Mills made a lazy sermon, upon Moses's meeknesse. My wife and I alone to dinner, and then she to read a little book concerning speech in general, a translation late out of French, a most excellent piece as ever I read, proving a soul in a man, which do please me most infinitely to read. By and by my wife to church, and I to my Office to complete my Journall for the last three days, and so to spend the evening with my wife and W. Hewer talking over the business of the Office, and particularly my own Office, how I will make it, and it will become, in a little time, an Office of ease, and not slavery, as it hath for so many years been.

7th. Up by candlelight, and with W. Hewer did walk it very well to Sir W. Coventry's, and there alone with him an hour talking of the Navy, which he pities, but says he hath no more mind to be found meddling with the Navy, lest it should do it hurt, as well as him. So to talk of general things: and telling him that, with all these doings, he, I thanked God, stood yet; he told me, Yes, but that he thought his continuing in, did arise from his enemies my Lord of Buckingham and Arlington's seeing that he cared so little if he was out; and he do protest to me that he is as weary of the Treasury, as ever he was of the Navy. He tells me that he do believe that their heat is over almost, as to the Navy, there being now none left of the old stock but my Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes, who is ready

to leave the world, and myself. But he tells me that he do foresee very great wants and great disorders by reason thereof ; insomuch, as he is represented to the King by his enemies as a melancholy man, and one that is still prophesying ill events, so as the King called him Visionaire, which being told him, he said he answered the party, that, whatever he foresaw, he was not afraid as to himself of any thing, nor particularly of my Lord Arlington, so much as the Duke of Buckingham hath been, nor of the Duke of Buckingham, so much as my Lord Arlington at this time is. But he tells me that he hath been always looked upon as a melancholy man ; whereas, others that would please the King do make him believe that all is safe : and so he hath heard my Lord Chancellor openly say to the King, that he was now a glorious prince, and in a glorious condition, because of some one accident that hath happened, or some one rut that hath been removed ; “ when,” says Sir W. Coventry, “ they reckoned their one good meal, without considering that there was nothing left in the cupboard for to-morrow.” After this discourse, to my Lord Sandwich’s, and took a quarter of an hour’s walk in the garden with him, which I have not done for so much time with him since his coming into England ; and talking of his own condition, and particularly of the world’s talk of his going to Tangier. I find, if his conditions can be made profitable and safe as to money, he would go, but not else ; but, however, will seem not averse to it, because of facilitating his other accounts now depend-

ing, which he finds hard to get through, but yet hath some hopes, the King, he says, speaking very kindly to him.

8th. Up, and Sir H. Cholmly betimes with me, about some accounts and monies due to him : and he gone, I to the Office, where sat all the morning ; and here, among other things, breaks out the storm W. Hewer and I have long expected from the Surveyor,¹ about W. Hewer's conspiring to get a contract, to the burdening of the stores with kerseys and cottons, of which he hath often complained, and lately more than ever ; and now he did it by a most scandalous letter to the Board, reflecting on my Office : and, by discourse, it fell to such high words between him and me, as can hardly ever be forgot ; I declaring I would believe W. Hewer as soon as him, and laying the fault, if there be any, upon himself ; he, on the other hand, vilifying of my word and W. Hewer's, calling him knave, and that if he were his clerk, he should lose his ears. At last, I closed the business for this morning with making the thing ridiculous, as it is, and he swearing that the King should have right in it, or he would lose his place. The Office was cleared of all but ourselves and W. Hewer ; but, however, the world did by the beginning see what it meant, and it will, I believe, come to high terms between us, which I am sorry for, to have any blemish laid upon me or mine, at this time, though never so unjustly, for fear of giving

¹ Colonel Middleton.

occasion to my real discredit : and therefore I was not only all the rest of the morning vexed, but so went home to dinner, where my wife tells me of my Lord Orrery's new play "Tryphon,"¹ at the Duke of York's house, which, however, I would see, and therefore put a bit of meat in our mouths, and went thither, where, with much ado, at half-past one, we got into a blind hole in the 18^d. place, above stairs, where we could not hear well. The house infinite full, but the prologue most silly, and the play, though admirable, yet no pleasure almost in it, because just the very same design, and words, and sense, and plot, as every one of his plays have, any one of which alone would be held admirable, whereas so many of the same design and fancy do but dull one another ; and this, I perceive, is the sense of every body else, as well as myself, who therefore showed but little pleasure in it. So home, mighty hot, and my mind mightily out of order, so as I could not eat any supper, or sleep almost all night, though I spent till twelve at night with W. Hewer to consider of our business : and we find it not only most free from any blame of our side, but so horrid scandalous on the other, to make so groundless a complaint, and one so shameful to him, that it could not but let me see that there is no need of my being troubled ; but such is the weakness of my nature, that I could not help it, which vexes me, showing me how unable I am to live with difficulties.

¹ This tragedy, taken from the first book of Maccabees, was performed with great success.

9th. To the Office, but did little there, my mind being still uneasy, though more and more satisfied that there is no occasion for it; but abroad with my wife to the Temple, where I met with Auditor Wood's clerk, and did some business with him, and so to see Mr. Spong, and found him out by Southampton Market,¹ and there carried my wife, and up to his chamber, a bye place, but with a good prospect to the fields; and there I had most infinite pleasure, not only with his ingenuity in general, but in particular with his shewing me the use of the Parallelogram, by which he drew in a quarter of an hour before me, in little, from a great, a most neat map of England — that is, all the outlines, which gives me infinite pleasure, and foresight of pleasure, I shall have with it; and therefore desire to have that which I have bespoke, made. Many other pretty things he showed us, and did give me a glass bubble,² to try the strength of liquors with. This done, and having spent 6*d.* in ale in the coach, at the door of the Bull Inn, with the innocent master of the house, a Yorkshireman, for his letting us go through his house, we away to Hercules Pillars, and there eat a bit of meat: and so, with all speed, back to the Duke of York's house, where mighty full again; but we come time enough to have a good place in the pit, and did hear this new play again, where, though I

¹ Better known as Bloomsbury Market; but since (1851-53) swallowed up in the New Oxford Street improvements.

² This seems to be Mr. Boyle's hydrometer, described in the "*Philosophical Transactions*" of the time.

better understood it than before, yet my sense of it and pleasure was just the same as yesterday, and no more, nor any body else's about us. So took our coach and home, having now little pleasure to look about me to see the fine faces, for fear of displeasing my wife, whom I take great comfort now, more than ever, in pleasing; and it is a real joy to me. So home, and to my Office, where spent an hour or two; and so home to my wife, to supper and talk, and so to bed.

10th. Up, and to the Office, where busy all the morning: Middleton not there, so no words or looks of him. At noon, home to dinner; and so to the Office, and there all the afternoon busy; and at night W. Hewer home with me; and we think we have got matter enough to make Middleton appear a coxcomb. But it troubled me to have Sir W. Warren meet me at night, going out of the Office home, and tell me that Middleton do intend to complain to the Duke of York: but, upon consideration of the business, I did go to bed, satisfied that it was best for me that he should; and so my trouble was over, and to bed, and slept well.

11th. Up, and with W. Hewer by water to Somerset House; and there I to my Lord Brouncker, before he went forth to the Duke of York, and there told him my confidence that I should make Middleton appear a fool, and that it was, I thought, best for me to complain of the wrong he hath done; but brought it about, that my Lord desired me I would forbear, and prom-

ised that he would prevent Middleton till I had given in my answer to the Board, which I desired : and so away to White Hall, and there did our usual attendance : and no word spoke before the Duke of York by Middleton at all ; at which I was glad to my heart, because by this means I have time to draw up my answer to my mind. With W. Hewer by coach to Smithfield, but met not Mr. Pickering, he being not come, and so Will and I to a cook's shop, in Aldersgate Street ; and dined well for $19\frac{1}{2}d.$, upon roast beef ; and so, having dined, we back to Smithfield, and there met Pickering, and up and down all the afternoon about horses, and did see the knaveries and tricks of jockeys. Here I met W. Joyce, who troubled me with his impertinencies a great while, and the like Mr. Knipp, who, it seems, is a kind of a jockey, and would fain have been doing something for me, but I avoided him, and the more for fear of being troubled thereby with his wife, whom I dare not see, for my vow to my wife. At last, concluded upon giving 50*l.* for a fine pair of black horses we saw this day se'nnight ; and so set Mr. Pickering down near his house, whom I am much beholden to, for his care herein, and he hath admirable skill, I perceive, in this business, and so home.

12th. I hear this day that there is fallen down a new house, not quite finished, in Lumbard Street, and that there have been several so, they making use of bad mortar and bricks ; but no hurt yet, as God hath ordered it. This day was brought home my pair of

black coach-horses, the first I ever was master of. They cost me 50*l.*, and are a fine pair.

13th (Lord's day). Up, and with W. Hewer to the Office, where all the morning, and then home to a little dinner, and presently to it again till twelve at night, drawing up my answer to Middleton, which I think I shall do to very good purpose—at least, I satisfy myself therein; and so to bed, weary with walking in my Office dictating to him.

14th. To a Committee of Tangier, where, among other things, a silly account of a falling out between Norwood,¹ at Tangier, and Mr. Bland, the mayor, who is fled to Cales [Cadiz]. His complaint is ill-worded, and the other's defence the most ridiculous that ever I saw; and so everybody else that was there, thought it; but never did I see so great an instance of the use of grammar, and knowledge how to tell a man's tale as this day, Bland having spoiled his business by ill-telling it, who had work to have made himself notorious by his mastering Norwood, his enemy, if he had known to have used it. To dinner by a hackney, my coachman being this day about breaking of my horses to the coach, they having never yet drawn. This day, I hear, and am glad, that the King hath prorogued the Parliament to October 'next; and, among other reasons, it will give me time to go to France, I hope.

15th. Up, and to the Office, where sat all the morning, and the new Treasurers there; and, for my life, I cannot keep Sir J. Minnes and others of the Board

¹ Colonel Norwood, the Deputy Governor: see 21st April, 1660.

from showing our weakness, to the dishonour of the Board, though I am not concerned : but it do vex me to the heart to have it before these people, that would be glad to find out all our weaknesses.

18th. To Lord Brouncker, and got him to read over my paper, who owns most absolute content in it, and the advantage I have in it, and the folly of the Surveyor. At noon home to dinner ; and then to Brooke House, and there spoke with Colonel Thomson, I by order carrying the Commissioners of Accounts our Contract-books, from the beginning to the end of the late war. I found him finding of errors in a ship's book, where he showed me many, which must end in the ruin, I doubt, of the Comptroller, who found them not out in the pay of the ship, or the whole Office. To the Office, and after some other business done, we fell to mine. The Surveyor began to be a little brisk at the beginning ; but when I came to the point to touch him, which I had all the advantages in the world to do, he became as calm as a lamb, and owned, as the whole Board did, their satisfaction, and cried excuse : and so all made friends ; and their acknowledgment put into writing, and delivered into Sir J. Minnes's hand, to be kept there for the use of the Board, or me, when I shall call for it ; they desiring it might be so, that I might not make use of it to the prejudice of the Surveyor, whom I had an advantage over, by his extraordinary folly in this matter. But, besides this, I have no small advantage got by this business, as I have put several things into my letter

which I should otherwise have wanted an opportunity of saying, which pleases me mightily. So Middleton desiring to be friends, I forgave him ; and all mighty quiet, and fell to talk of other stories, and there staid, all of us, till nine or ten at night, more than ever we did in our lives before, together. And so home, where I have a new fight to fight with my wife, who is under new trouble by some news she has heard of Deb.'s being mighty fine, and gives out that she has a friend that gives her money, and this my wife believes to be me, and, poor wretch ! I cannot blame her, and therefore she run into me extreme ; but I did pacify all, and were mighty good friends, and to bed, and I hope it will be our last struggle from this business, for I am resolved never to give any new occasion, and great peace I find in my mind by it.

19th. My wife and I by hackney to the King's playhouse, and there, the pit being full, sat in the box above, and saw "Catiline's Conspiracy,"¹ yesterday being the first day : a play of much good sense and words to read, but that do appear the worst upon the stage, I mean, the least diverting, that ever I saw any, though most fine in clothes ; and a fine scene of the Senate, and of a fight, as ever I saw in my life. But the play is only to be read, and therefore home, with no pleasure at all, but only in sitting next to Betty Hall,²

¹ By Stephen Gosson. It was never printed.

² See 23rd Jan., 1666-7. She is noticed in one of Rochester's Satires : —

"And Mrs. Strafford yield to B—— Hall."

State Poems, p. 35, 8vo, 1697.

that did belong to this house, and was Sir Philip Howard's mistress ; a mighty pretty wench, though my wife will not think so ; and I dare neither commend, nor be seen to look upon her, or any other, for fear of offending her. So, our own coach coming for us, home, and to end letters, and my wife to read to me out of "The Siege of Rhodes," and so to supper, and to bed.

20th (Lord's day). With my wife to church, and then home, and there found W. Joyce come to dine with me, as troublesome a talking coxcombe as ever he was, and yet once in a year I like him well enough. In the afternoon my wife and W. Hewer and I to White Hall, where they staid till I had been with the Duke of York, with the rest of us of the Office, and did a little business, and then the Duke of York in good humour did fall to tell us many fine stories of the wars in Flanders, and how the Spaniards are the best disciplined foot in the world ; will refuse no extraordinary service if commanded, but scorn to be paid for it, as in other countries, though at the same time they will beg in the streets : not a soldier will carry you a cloak-bag for money for the world, though he will beg a penny, and will do the thing, if commanded by his Commander. That, in the citadel of Antwerp, a soldier hath not a liberty of begging till he hath served three years. They will cry out against their King and Commanders and Generals, none like them in the world, and yet will not hear a stranger say a word of them but they will cut his throat. That, upon a time, some of the Commanders of their army exclaiming

against their Generals, and particularly the Marquis de Caranen,¹ the Confessor of the Marquis coming by and hearing them, he stops and gravely tells them that the three great trades of the world are, the lawyers, who govern the world; the churchmen, who enjoy the world; and a sort of fools whom they call soldiers, who make it their work to defend the world. He told us too, that Turenne being now become a Catholick,² he is likely to get over the head of Colbert,³ their interests being contrary; the latter to promote trade⁴ and the sea, which, says the Duke of York, is that we have most cause to fear; and Turenne to employ the King and his forces by land, to encrease his conquests. W. Hewer tells me to-day that he hears that the King of France hath declared in print, that he do intend this next summer to forbid his Commanders to strike⁵ to us, but that both we and the Dutch shall strike to him; and that he hath made his captains swear already, that they will observe it: which is a great thing if he do it, as I know nothing to hinder him.

¹ Luis de Benavides Carillo y Toledo, Marques de Caracena, one of the most eminent of the Spanish Generals. He had been Commander of the Spanish cavalry in Flanders; and he was afterwards Governor of Milan, and employed in the wars of Italy. He died in 1668.

² Henri, Vicomte de Turenne, the celebrated General. In 1666, after the death of his wife, Charlotte, heiress of the Duc de la Force, who like himself had been a Huguenot, and whose influence had retained him in that communion, Turenne professed himself a Roman Catholic.

³ Jean Baptiste Colbert, the great Minister.

⁴ This reminds us of the famous reply, *Laissez nous faire*, made to Colbert by the French merchants, whose interests he thought to promote by laws and regulations.

⁵ Strike topsails.

21st. My own coach carrying me and my boy Tom, who goes with me in the room of W. Hewer, who could not, and I dare not go alone, to the Temple, the first time my fine horses ever carried me, and I am mighty proud of them. So home, and there dined with my wife and my people : and then she, and W. Hewer, and I out with our coach, but the old horses, not daring yet to use the others too much, but only to enter them. Went into Holborne, and there saw the woman that is to be seen with a beard. She is a little plain woman, a Dane : her name, Ursula Dyan ; about forty years old ; her voice like a little girl's ; with a beard as much as any man I ever saw, black almost, and grizly ; it began to grow at about seven years old, and was shaved not above seven months ago, and is now so big as any man's almost that ever I saw ; I say, bushy and thick. It was a strange sight to me, I confess, and what pleased me mightily. Thence to the Duke's playhouse, and saw "Macbeth." The King and Court there ; and we sat just under them and my Lady Castlemaine, and close to the woman that comes into the pit, a kind of a loose gossip, that pretends to be like her, and is so, something. And my wife, by my troth, appeared, I think, as pretty as any of them ; I never thought so much before ; and so did Talbot and W. Hewer, as, I heard, they said to one another. The King and Duke of York minded me, and smiled upon me, at the handsome woman near me : but it vexed me to see Moll Davis, in the box over the King's and my Lady Castlemaine's,

look down upon the King, and he up to her; and so did my Lady Castlemaine once, to see who it was; but when she saw Moll Davis, she blushed like fire; which troubled me.

23rd. Met at the Office all the morning, and at noon to the 'Change, and there met with Langford and Mr. Frank, the landlord of my father's house in Fleet Streete, and are come to an arbitration what my father shall give him to be freed of his lease and building the house again. Discoursed with Sir John Bankes, who thinks this prorogation will please all but the Parliament itself, which will, if ever they meet, be vexed at Buckingham, who yet governs all. He says the Nonconformists are glad of it, and, he believes, will get the upper-hand in a little time, for the King must trust to them or nobody; and he thinks the King will be forced to it. He says that Sir D. Gauden is mighty troubled at Pen's being put upon him, by the Duke of York,¹ and that he believes he will get clear of it, which, though it will trouble me to have Pen still at the Office, yet I shall think D. Gauden do well in it, and what I would advise him to, because I love him. So home to dinner, and then with my wife alone abroad, with our new horses, the beautifullest almost that ever I saw, and the first time they ever carried her at all, and me but once; but we are mighty proud of them. To her tailor's, and so to the 'Change, and laid out three or four pounds in lace,

¹ As his partner, in the contract for victualling the Navy.

for her and me ; and so home, and there. I up to my Lord Brouncker, at his lodgings, and sat with him an hour, on purpose to talk over the wretched state of this Office at present, according to the present hands it is made up of ; wherein he do fully concur with me, and that it is our part not only to prepare for defending it and ourselves, against the consequences of it, but to take the best ways we can, to make it known to the Duke of York ; for, till Sir J. Minnes be removed, and a good man brought into W. Pen's place, when he is gone, it is impossible for this Office ever to support itself.

24th. A cold day. Up, and to the Office, where all the morning alone, nobody meeting, being the eve of Christmas. At noon home to dinner, and then at the Office busy, all the afternoon, and at night home.

25th (Christmas-day). I to church, where Alderman Backewell, coming in late, I beckoned to his lady to come up to us, who did, with another lady ; and after sermon, I led her down through the church to her husband and coach, a noble, fine woman, and a good one, and one my wife shall be acquainted with. So home, and to dinner alone with my wife, who, poor wretch ! sat undressed all day, till ten at night, altering and lacing of a black petticoat : while I by her, making the boy read to me the *Life of Julius Cæsar*,¹ and Des Cartes' book of *Musick*² — the latter

¹ "The Life of Julius Cæsar, with an Account of his Medals." By Clement Edmonds, fol., London, 1655.

² "Musicæ Compendium." By René Des Cartes, Amsterdam, 1617:

of which I understand not, nor think he did well that writ it, though a most learned man. Then, after supper, I made the boy play upon his lute, which I have not done twice before since he came to me; and so, my mind in mighty content, we to bed.

26th. Lay long with pleasure, prating with my wife, and then up, and I a little to the Office, and my head busy setting some papers and accounts to rights, which being long neglected because of my eyes will take me up much time and care to do, but it must be done. At noon to dinner, and then abroad with my wife to a play, at the Duke of York's house, the house full of ordinary citizens. The play was "Women Pleased,"¹ which we had never seen before; and, though but indifferent, yet there is a good design for a good play.

27th (Lord's day). Saw the King at chapel; but staid not to hear anything, but went to walk in the Park, with W. Hewer; and there, among others, met with Sir G. Downing, and walked with him an hour, talking of business, and how the late war was managed, there being nobody to take care of it: and he telling, when he was in Holland, what he offered the King to do, if he might have power, and then, upon the least word, perhaps of a woman, to the King, he

rendered into English, London, 1653, 4to. The translator, whose name did not appear on the title, was William, Viscount Brouncker, Pepys's colleague, who proved his knowledge of music by the performance.

¹ A tragi-comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher: fol., 1647; 8vo, 1778; well thought of at the time, though, when revived at Drury Lane, nearly a century ago, it met with no success.

was contradicted again, and particularly to the loss of all that we lost in Guinny. He told me that he had so good spies, that he hath had the keys taken out of De Witt's¹ pocket when he was a-bed, and his closet opened, and papers brought to him, and left in his hands for an hour, and carried back and laid in the place again, and keys put into De Witt's pocket again. He says that he hath always had their most private debates, that have been but between two or three of the chief of them, brought to him in an hour after, and an hour after that, hath sent word thereof to the King, but nobody here regarded them. But he tells me the sad news, that he is out of all expectations that ever the debts of the Navy will be paid, if the Parliament do not enable the King to do it by money; all they can hope for to do out of the King's revenue being but to keep our wheels a-going on present services, and, if they can, to cut off the growing interest: which is a sad story, and grieves me to the heart. So home, my coach coming for me, and there find Balty and Mr. Howe, who dined with me; and there my wife and I fell out a little about the foulness of the linen of the table, but were friends presently, but she cried, poor heart! which I was troubled for, though I did not give her one hard word. Dinner

¹ The celebrated John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, who, a few years afterwards, was massacred, with his brother Cornelius, by the Dutch mob, enraged at their opposition to the elevation of William of Orange to the Stadtholdership, when the States were overrun by the French army, and the Dutch fleets beaten at sea by the English.

done, she to church, and W. Howe and I all the afternoon, talking about my Lord Sandwich's suffering his business of the prizes to be managed by Sir R. Cuttance, who is so deep in the business, more than my Lord knows of, and such a loggerhead, and under such prejudice, that he will, we doubt, do my Lord much wrong.

28th. Called up by drums and trumpets; these things and boxes having cost me much money this Christmas already, and will do more. My wife down by water to see her mother, and at night home, and tells me how much her mother prays for me and is troubled for my eyes; and I am glad to have friendship with them, and believe they are truly glad to see their daughter come to live so well as she do.

29th. Up, and at the Office all the morning, and at noon to dinner, and there, by a pleasant mistake, find my uncle and aunt Wight, and three more of their company, come to dine with me to-day, thinking that they had been invited, which they were not; but yet we did give them a pretty good dinner, and mighty merry at the mistake. They sat most of the afternoon with us, and then parted, and my wife and I out, thinking to have gone to a play, but it was too far begun, and so to the 'Change, and there she and I bought several things, and so home, with much pleasure talking, and then to reading, and so to supper and to bed.

30th. Up, and vexed a little to be forced to pay 40s. for a glass of my coach, which was broke the

other day, nobody knows how, within the door, while it was down ; but I do doubt that I did break it myself with my knees. After dinner, my wife and I to the Duke's playhouse, and there did see "King Harry the Eighth ;" and was mightily pleased, better than I ever expected, with the history and shows of it. We happened to sit by Mr. Andrews, our neighbour, and his wife, who talked so fondly to his little boy. Thence my wife and I to the 'Change ; but, in going, our neere horse did fling himself, kicking of the coachbox over the pole ; and a great deal of trouble it was to get him right again, and we forced to 'light, and in great fear of spoiling the horse, but there was no hurt.

31st. At the Office all the morning. At noon Capt. Ferrers and Mr. Sheres came to me to dinner, and pretty well pleased with their talk of Spayne ; but my wife did not come down, I suppose because she would not, Captain Ferrers being there, to oblige me. In the evening to endeavour to pay all bills and servants' wages, &c., which I did almost to 5*l*. that I know that I owe in the world but to the publique ; and so, with great pleasure to supper and to bed, and, blessed be God ! the year ends, after some late very great sorrow with my wife by my folly, yet ends, I say, with great mutual peace and content, and likely to last so by my care, who am resolved to enjoy the sweet of it, which I now possess, by never giving her like cause of trouble.

1668-9.

January 1st. Presented from Captain Beckford,¹ with a noble silver warming-pan, which I am doubtful whether to take or no. With W. Hewer to the cabinet-shops, to look out, and did agree, for a cabinet to give my wife for a New-year's gift; and I did buy one cost me 11*l.*, which is very pretty, of walnutt-tree. To the old Exchange, and met my uncle Wight; and there walked, and met with the Houblons, and talked with them—gentlemen whom I honour mightily: and so to my uncle's, and met my wife; and there, with W. Hewer, we dined with his family, and had a very good dinner, and pretty merry: and after dinner, my wife and I with our coach to the King's playhouse, and there in a box saw "The Mayden Queene." Knipp looked upon us, but I durst not show her any countenance; and, as well as I could carry myself, I found my wife uneasy there, poor wretch! therefore, I shall avoid that house as much as I can. So back to my aunt's, and there supped and talked, and staid pretty late, it being dry and moonshine, and so walked home, and to bed in very good humour.

2nd. Home to dinner, where I find my cabinet, and paid for it, and it pleases me and my wife well.

3rd (Lord's day). Busy all the morning, getting rooms and dinner ready for my guests, which were my uncle and aunt Wight, and two of their cousins, and

¹ See 21st Feb., 1667-8.

an old woman, and Mr. Mills and his wife ; and a good dinner, and all our plate out, and mighty fine and merry, only I a little vexed at burning a new tablecloth myself, with one of my trencher-salts.¹ Dinner done, I out with W. Hewer and Mr. Spong, who by accident came to dine with me, and good talk with him : to White Hall by coach, and there left him. Up and down the House till the evening, hearing how the King do intend² this frosty weather, it being this day the first, and very hard frost, that hath come this year, and very cold it is. So home ; and to supper and read ; and there my wife and I treating about coming to an allowance to her for clothes ; and there I, out of my natural backwardness, did hang off, which vexed her, and did occasion some discontented talk in bed, when we went to bed ; and also in the morning, but I did recover all.

4th. Lay long, talking with my wife, and did of my own accord come to an allowance of her of 30*l.* a-year for all expences, clothes and everything, which she was mightily pleased with, it being more than ever she asked or expected, and so rose, with much content. W. Hewer and I went and saw the great tall woman that is to be seen, who is but twenty-one years old, and I do easily stand under her arms.³ Then, going fur-

¹ It would seem that the wooden salt-cellar was burnt, together with the tablecloth.

² This sentence is imperfect.

³ Evelyn saw her, 29th January, 1668-9. She was born in the Low Countries, and stood, at the age of twenty-one, according to Evelyn, six feet

ther, The. Turner called me, out of her coach where her mother, &c., was, and invited me by all means to dine with them, at my cozen Roger's mistress's the widow Dickenson. So, I went to them afterwards, and dined with them, and mighty handsomely treated, and she a wonderfull merry, good-humoured, fat, but plain woman, but I believe a very good woman, and mighty civil to me. Mrs. Turner,¹ the mother,² and Mrs. Dyke,³ and The., and Betty was the company, and a gentleman of their acquaintance. Betty I did long to see, and she is indifferent pretty, but not what the world did speak of her; but I am mighty glad to have one so pretty of our kindred. After dinner, I walked with them, to show them the great woman, which they admire, as well they may; and back with them, and left them; and I to White Hall, where a Committee of Tangier met; and I did receive an instance of the Duke of York's kindness to me, and the whole Committee, that they would not order any thing about the Treasurer for the Corporation now in establishing, without my assent, and considering whether it would be to my wrong or no. Thence up and down the house, and to the Duke of York's side, and there in the Duchess's presence; and was mightily complimented by my Lady Peterborough, in my Lord

ten inches high; yet Pepys, 8th Feb., 1668-9, makes her height six feet five inches.

¹ Jane, the wife of Serjeant John Turner.

² Anne Pepys, who married Terry Walpole of South Creak.

³ Elizabeth, married to Thomas Dyke.

Sandwich's presence, whom she engaged to thank me for my kindness to her and her Lord. By and by I met my Lord Brouncker ; and he and I to the Duke of York alone, and discoursed over the carriage of the present Treasurers, in opposition to, or at least independency of, the Duke of York, or our Board, which the Duke of York is sensible of, and all remember, I believe ; for they do carry themselves very respectfully of him and us. We also declared our minds together to the Duke of York about Sir John Minnes's incapacity to do any service in the Office, and that it is but to betray the King to have any business of trust committed to his weakness. So that the Duke of York was very sensible of it and he promised to speak to the King about it. To supper, and put into writing, in merry terms, our agreement between my wife and me, about the 30*l.* a-year, and so to bed. This was done under both our hands merrily, and put into W. Hewer's to keep.

5th. The frost and cold continuing. At noon home with my people to dinner, and in the evening comes Creed to me, and tells me his wife is at my house. So I in, and spent an hour with them, the first time she hath been here, or I have seen her, since she was married. She is not over-handsome, though a good lady, and one I love. So after some pleasant discourse, they gone, I to the Office again.

6th (Twelfth day). Up, and to look after things against dinner to-day for my guests, and then to the Office to write down my Journall for five or six days

backward, and so home. At noon comes Mrs. Turner and Dyke, and Mrs. Dickenson, and then comes The. and Betty Turner, the latter of which is a very pretty girl ; and then Creed and his wife, whom I sent for by my coach. These were my guests, and Mrs. Turner's friend, whom I saw the other day, Mr. Wicken, and very merry we were at dinner, and so all the afternoon, talking, and looking up and down my house ; and in the evening¹ I did bring out my cake—a noble cake, and there cut it into pieces, with wine and good drink : and after a new fashion, to prevent spoiling the cake, did put so many titles into a hat, and so drew cuts ; and I was Queen ; and The. Turner, King—Creed, Sir Martin Marr-All : and Betty, Mrs. Millicent : and so we were mighty merry till it was midnight ; and, being moonshine and fine frost, they went home, I lending some of them my coach to help to carry them.

7th. My wife and I to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Island Princess,"² the first time I ever saw it ; and it is a pretty good play, many good things being in it, and a good scene of a town on fire. We sat in an upper box, and the jade Nell came and sat in the next box ; a bold merry slut, who lay laughing there upon people ; and with a comrade of hers of the Duke's house, that came in to see the play.

¹ It was Twelfth Night.

² A tragi-comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher ; reprinted in 1669 (4to) "as it is acted at the Theatre Royal by His Majesty's servants. With the alterations and new additional scenes."

8th. Up, and with Colonel Middleton, in his coach, and Mr. Tippetts to White Hall; and there attended the Duke of York with the rest, where the Duke was mighty plain with the Treasurers, according to the advice my Lord Brouncker and I did give him the other night, and he did it fully; and so as, I believe, will make the Treasurers carefull of themselves, unless they do resolve upon defying the Duke of York. At the Treasury-Chamber, where I alone did manage the business of "The Leopard" against the whole Committee of the East India Company, with Mr. Blackburne with them; and to the silencing of them all, to my no great content. Home to my wife's chamber, my people having laid the cloth, and got the rooms all clean above-stairs for our dinner to-morrow.

9th. At noon, my Lord Brouncker, Mr. Wren, Joseph Williamson, and Captain Cocke, dined with me; and, being newly sat down, comes in, by invitation of Williamson's, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and he brings in with him young Mr. Whore, whose father, of the Tower, I know. And here I had a neat dinner, and all in so good manner and fashion, and with so good company, and everything to my mind, as I never had more in my life — the company being to my heart's content, and they all well pleased. So continued, looking over my books and closet till the evening, and so I to the Office and did a good deal of business, and so home to supper and to bed with my mind mightily pleased with this day's management, as one of the days of my life of fullest content.

10th (Lord's day). Accidentally talking of our maids before we rose, I said a little word that did give occasion to my wife to fall out; and she did most vexatiously, almost all the morning, but ended most perfect good friends; but the thoughts of the unquiet which her ripping up of old faults will give me, did make me melancholy all day long. In the evening comes Pelling to sit and talk with us, and so to supper and pretty merry discourse, only my mind a little vexed at the morning's work, but yet without any appearance.

11th. With W. Hewer, my guard, to White Hall, where no Committee of Tangier met, so up and down the House talking with this and that man, and so to the 'Change, and there did a little business, and so home to dinner, and then abroad with my wife to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Joviall Crew;" but ill acted to what it was heretofore, in Clun's time, and when Lacy could dance. Thence to the New Exchange, to buy some things; and, among others, my wife did give me my pair of gloves, which, by contract, she is to give me in her 30*l.* a-year. Here Mrs. Smith¹ tells us of the great murder thereabouts, on Saturday last, of one Captain Bumbridge,² by one Symons, both of her acquaintance; and hectors that were at play, and in drink: the former is killed, and is kinsman to my Lord of Ormond, which made him speak of it with so much passion, as I overheard him

¹ Pepys's pretty sempstress.

² Or Bainbridge?

this morning, but could not make anything of it till now, but would they would kill more of them. So home ; and there all the evening ; and made Tom to prick down some little conceits and notions of mine, in musick, which do mightily encourage me to spend some more thoughts about it ; for I fancy, upon good reason, that I am in the right way of unfolding the mystery of this matter, better than ever yet.

12th. Up, and to the Office, where, by occasion of a message from the Treasurers that their Board found fault with Commissioner Middleton, I went up from our Board to the Lords of the Treasury, and there did dispute the business, it being about the matter of paying a little money to Chatham Yard, wherein I find the Treasurers mighty supple, and I believe we shall bring them to reason, though they begun mighty upon us, as if we had no power of directing them, but they, us. Thence back presently home, to dinner, where I discern my wife to have been in pain about where I have been, but said nothing to me, but I believe did send W. Hewer to seek me, but I take no notice of it, but am vexed. So to dinner with my people, and then to the Office, where all the afternoon, and did much business, and at it late, and so home to supper, and to bed. This day, meeting Mr. Pierce at White Hall, he tells me that his boy hath a great mind to see me, and is going to school again ; and Dr. Clerke, being by, do tell me that he is a fine boy ; but I durst not answer anything, because I durst not invite him to my house, for fear of my wife ; and

therefore, to my great trouble, was forced to neglect that discourse. Mr. Pierce, I asking him whither he was going, told me as a great secret that he was going to his master's mistress, Mrs. Churchill,¹ with some physic; meaning, I suppose, that she is with child. This evening I observed my wife mighty dull, and I myself was not mighty fond, because of some hard words she did give me at noon, out of a jealousy at my being abroad this morning, which, God knows, it was upon the business of the Office unexpectedly: but I to bed, not thinking but she would come after me. But waking by and by out of a slumber, which I usually fall into presently after my coming into the bed, I found she did not prepare to come to bed, but got fresh candles, and more wood for her fire, it being mighty cold, too. At this being troubled, I after a while prayed her to come to bed; so, after an hour or two, she silent, and I now and then praying her to come to bed, she fell out into a fury, that I was a rogue, and false to her. I did, as I might truly, deny it, and was mightily troubled, but all would not serve. At last, about one o'clock, she came to my side of the bed, and drew my curtaine open, and with the tongs red hot at the ends, made as if she did design to pinch me with them, at which, in dismay, I rose up,

¹ Arabella Churchill, sister to John Duke of Marlborough, and one of the Maids of Honour to the Duchess of York. James Duke of Berwick, and three other children, were the fruits of this intrigue. From the Duke of Berwick descend the Dukes of Fitzjames in France. She married subsequently Colonel Godfrey, Comptroller of the Household, and died 1730, aged 82.

and with a few words she laid them down ;¹ and did by little and little, very sillily, let all the discourse fall ; and about two, but with much seeming difficulty, came to bed, and there lay well all night, and long in bed talking together, with much pleasure, it being, I know, nothing but her doubt of my going out yesterday, without telling her of my going, which did vex her, poor wretch ! last night, and I cannot blame her jealousy, though it do vex me to the heart.

13th. To White Hall, and thence walked into the Park, all in the snow, with the Duke of York and the rest, and so home, after visiting my Lady Peterborough, and there by invitation find Mr. Povy, and there was also Talbot Pepys, newly come from Impington, and dined with me. After dinner, I and my wife and Talbot towards the Temple, and there to the King's playhouse, and there saw, I think, "The Maiden Queene." This day came home the instrument I have so long longed for, the Parallelogram.

15th. To Sir W. Coventry, where with him a good while in his chamber, talking of the great factions at Court at this day, even to the sober engaging of great persons, and differences, and making the King cheap and ridiculous. It is about my Lady Harvy's being

¹ Mrs. Pepys seemed inclined to have acted on the legend of St. Dunstan who —

————— "as the story goes,
Once pull'd the devil by the nose
With *red-hot* tongs, which made him roar,
That he was heard three miles or more."

offended at Doll Common's acting of Sempronia,¹ to imitate her ; for which she got my Lord Chamberlain, her kinsman,² to imprison Doll : upon which my Lady Castlemaine made the King to release her, and to order her to act it again, worse than ever, the other day, where the King himself was ; and since it was acted again, and my Lady Harvy provided people to hiss her and fling oranges at her : but it seems the heat is come to a great height, and real troubles at Court about it. Through the Park, where I met the King and the Duke of York, and so walked with them ; and I did give the Duke of York thanks for his favour to me yesterday, at the Committee of Tangier, in my absence, Mr. Povy having given me advice of it, of the discourse there of putting the payment of the gar-

¹ The following cast of parts in "The Alchymist," as acted by the King's company, and given by Downes, in his "Roscius Anglicanus," furnishes a clue to the actress described here, and in a former passage (vol. vi. p. 326), as "Doll Common:"—

Subtle	Mr. Clun.
Face	Major Mohun.
Sir E. Mammon	Mr. Cartwright.
Surly	Mr. Burt.
Ananias	Mr. Lacy.
Wholesome	Mr. Bateman.
<i>Doll Common</i>	<i>Mrs. Corey.</i>
Dame Plyant	Mrs. Rutter.

The identity, however, is placed beyond doubt, by a reference to "Catiline's Conspiracy," where we find Mrs. Corey acting the part of Sempronia, in which "Doll Common," as Pepys styles her, gave offence, by imitating Lady Harvey, and, consequently, was sent to prison. We may add, that Mrs. Corey's name stands first in the list of female performers in the King's company, under Killigrew. See "Roscius Anglicanus," 1708.

² See note in vol ii., 18th Jan., 1661-2.

rison into some undertaker's hand, Alderman Backewell, which the Duke of York would not suffer to go on, without my presence at the debate. And he answered me just thus : that he ought to have a care of him that do the King's business in the manner that I do, and words of more force than that. Then down with Lord Brouncker to Sir R. Murray, into the King's little elaboratory, under his closet, a pretty place ; and there saw a great many chymical glasses and things, but understood none of them. With my wife at my cozen Turner's, where I staid, and sat a while, and carried The. and my wife to the Duke of York's house, to "Macbeth," and myself to White Hall, to the Lords of the Treasury, about Tangier business ; and there was by, at much merry discourse between them and my Lord Anglesey, who made sport of our new Treasurers, and called them his deputys, and much of that kind. And having done my own business, I away back, and carried my cozen Turner and sister Dyke to a friend's house, where they sup, in Lincoln's Inn Fields ; and I to the Duke of York's house, and so carried The. thither, and so home with my wife. This day The. Turner shewed me at the play my Lady Portman,¹ who was grown out of my knowledge.

16th. This morning Creed, and in the afternoon comes Povy, to advise with me about my answer to the Lords Commissioners of Tangier, about the prop-

¹ Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Cutler (by his second lady), married to Sir William Portman, K.B., who was the third and last Baronet of his family. Pepys could have known neither of his former wives.

ositions for the Treasurership there,¹ which I am not much concerned for. But the latter, talking of publick things, told me, as Mr. Wren also did, that the Parliament is likely to meet again, the King being frightened with what the Speaker hath put him in mind of — his promise not to prorogue, but only to adjourne them. They speak mighty freely of the folly of the King in this foolish woman's business, of my Lady Harvy. Povy tells me that Sir W. Coventry was with the King alone, an hour this day; and that my Lady Castlemaine is now in a higher command over the King than ever — not as a mistress, for she scorns him, but as a tyrant, to command him: and says that the Duchess of York and the Duke of York are mighty great with her, which is a great interest to my Lord Chancellor's² family; and that they do agree to hinder all they can the proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham and Arlington: and so we are in the old mad condition, or rather worse than any; no man knowing what the French intend to do the next summer.

17th (Lord's day). After church home, and thither comes Mrs. Batelier and her two daughters to dinner with us; and W. Hewer and his mother, and Mr. Spong. We were very civilly merry, and Mrs. Batelier a very discreet woman, but mighty fond in the stories she tells of her son Will. After dinner, Mr. Spong and I to my closet, there to try my instrument

¹ See 4th Jan., 1668-9.

² Clarendon, whom Pepys mentions by his former office.

Parallelogram, which do mighty well, to my full content; but only a little stiff, as being new. Thence, taking leave of my guests, to White Hall, and there parting with Spong, a man that I mightily love for his plainness and ingenuity, spoke with my Lords Bellassis and Peterborough about the business now in dispute, about my deputing a Treasurer to pay the garrison at Tangier, which I would avoid, and not be accountable, and they will serve me therein. Here I met Hugh May, and he brings me to the knowledge of Sir Henry Capell,¹ a Member of Parliament, and brother of my Lord of Essex,² who hath a great value, it seems, for me; and they appoint a day to come and dine with me, and see my books, and papers of the Office, which I shall be glad to show them, and have opportunity to satisfy them therein. Here all the discourse is, that now the King is of opinion to have the Parliament called, notwithstanding his late resolutions for proroguing them; so unstable are his councils, and those about him.

18th. To Sir W. Coventry's, and there discoursed the business of my Treasurer's place, at Tangier, wherein he consents to my desire, and concurs therein,

¹ Henry, second son of Arthur, first Baron Capel of Hadham, and himself elevated to the Peerage, in 1692, by the title of Lord Capel of Tewkesbury, for which town he had served in Parliament. He had been created K.B. at the coronation of Charles II., and was a leading member of the House of Commons; and, in 1679, appointed First Commissioner of the Admiralty. At the time of his death, at Dublin Castle, 30th May, 1696, he was Lord Deputy of Ireland. He left no issue.

² Which title had been revived for the Capel family in 1661.

which I am glad of, that I may not be accountable for a man so far off. And so I to my Lord Sandwich's, and there walk with him through the garden,¹ to White Hall, where he tells me what he hath done about this Treasurer's place, and I perceive the whole thing did proceed from him: that finding it would be best to have the Governor have nothing to do with the pay of the garrison, he did propose to the Duke of York alone that a pay-master should be there; and that being desirous to do a courtesy to Sir Charles Harbord,² and to prevent the Duke of York's looking out for any body else, he did name him to the Duke of York. That when he came the other day to move this to the Board of Tangier, the Duke of York, it seems, did readily reply, that it was fit to have Mr. Pepys satisfied therein first, and that it was not good to make places for persons. This my Lord in great confidence tells me, that he do take very ill from the Duke of York, though nobody knew the meaning of these words but him; and that he did take no notice of them, but bit his lip, being satisfied that the Duke of York's care of me was as desirable to him, as it could be to serve Sir Charles Harbord: and did seem industrious to let me see that he was glad that the Duke of York and he might come to contend who shall be the kindest to me, which I owned as his great love, and so I hope and believe it is, though my Lord did go a little too far in this business, to move it so

¹ The Privy Garden.

² See note to 25th Feb., 1665-6.

far, without consulting me. But I took no notice of that, but was glad to see this competition come about, that my Lord Sandwich is apparently jealous of my thinking that the Duke of York do mean me more kindness than him. So we walked together, and I took this occasion to invite him to dinner to my house, and he readily appointed Friday next, which I shall be glad to have over to his content, he having never yet eat a bit of my bread. Thence to the Duke of York on the King's side, with our Treasurers of the Navy, to discourse some business of the Navy, about the pay of the yards, and there I was taken notice of, many Lords being there in the room, of the Duke of York's conference with me; and so away, and meeting Mr. Sidney Montagu and Sheres, a small invitation served their turn to carry them to London, where I paid Sheres¹ his 100*l.*, given him for his pains in drawing the plate of Tangier fortifications. Home to my house to dinner, where I had a pretty handsome sudden dinner, and all well pleased; and thence we three and my wife to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "The Witts," a medley of things, but some similes mighty good, though ill mixed. At White Hall, and there in the Queen's withdrawing-room invited my Lord Peterborough to dine with me, with my Lord Sandwich, who readily accepted it. To

¹ H. Sheres was afterwards employed under Lord Dartmouth, as an engineer, in blowing up the works at Tangier, in 1683. He had previously been one of Lord Sandwich's suite in the embassy to Spain (see 8th, 22nd, and 28th Sept., 1667), and seems to have been living in 1703, when he is described as a knight.

the Pope's Head tavern, there to see the fine painted room which Rogerson told me of, of his doing ; but I do not like it at all, though it be good for such a publick room.

19th. At noon eat a mouthful, and so with my wife to Madam Turner's, and find her gone, but The. staid for us ; and so to the King's house, to see "Horace ;"¹ this the third day of its acting — a silly tragedy ; but Lacy hath made a farce of several dances — between each act, one : but his words are but silly, and invention not extraordinary, as to the dances ; only some Dutchmen come out of the mouth and tail of a Ham-burgh sow. Thence, not much pleased with the play, set them at home in the Strand ; and my wife and I home, and there to do a little business at the Office, and so home to supper and to bed.

20th. Up ; and my wife, and I, and W. Hewer to White Hall, where she set us down ; and there I spoke with my Lord Peterborough, to tell him of the day for his dining with me being altered by my Lord Sandwich from Friday to Saturday next. Heard at the Council-board the City, by their single counsel Symson, and the company of Strangers Merchants,² debate

¹ There were two translations, about this period, of the "Horace" of P. Corneille: one by Charles Cotton; the other, which was performed at Court, by Catherine Phillips, the fifth act being added by Sir John Denham. Pepys saw Mrs. Phillips's translation, as did Evelyn. See Evelyn's "Diary," under Feb. 5, 1668-9.

² An account of the Merchants Strangers from their settlement, in the reign of Richard III. to that of Charles II., is given in Seymour's "Survey of London," vol. ii. pp. 473-82.

the business of water-baylage ; a tax demanded upon all goods, by the City, imported and exported : which these Merchants oppose, and demanding leave to try the justice of the City's demand by a Quo Warranto, which the City opposed, the Merchants did quite lay the City on their backs with great triumph, the City's cause being apparently too weak : but here I observed Mr. Gold,¹ the merchant, to speak very well, and very sharply, against the City. To the Duke of York's house, and saw "Twelfth Night," as it is now revived ; but, I think, one of the weakest plays that ever I saw on the stage. This afternoon, before the play, I called with my wife at Dancre's,² the great landscape-painter, by Mr. Povy's advice ; and have bespoke him to come to take measure of my dining-room panels. There I met with the pretty daughter of the coal-seller's, that lived in Cheapside, and now in Covent Garden, who hath her picture drawn here, but very poorly ; but she is a pretty woman, and now, I perceive, married, a very pretty black woman. Home, my wife letting fall some words of her observing my eyes to be mightily employed in the playhouse, meaning upon women, which did vex me ; but, however, when we come home, we were good friends ; and so to read, and to supper, and so to bed.

21st. To a Committee of Tangier upon business,

¹ Edward Gold, a native of Devonshire, living at Highgate, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Gower, also of that place. Their names occur amongst those of the Governors of Sir Roger Cholmley's Grammar School in Highgate.

² Henry Dankers, born at the Hague, employed by Charles II. to paint

among others mine, where my desire about being eased of appointing and standing accountable for a Treasurer there was well accepted, and they will think of some other way. This I was glad of, finding reason to doubt that I might in this fear to offend either the Duke of York by denying it, or else offend my Lord Sandwich by accepting it, or denying it in a manner that might not forward his desire for Sir C. Harbord, but I thank God I did it to my great content without any offence, I think, to either. Thence in my own coach home, where I find Madam Turner, Dyke, and The. ; and had a good dinner for them, and merry ; and so carried them to the Duke of York's house, all but Dyke, who went away on other business ; and there saw "The Tempest ;" but it is but ill done by Gosnell, in lieu of Moll Davis. Thence set them at home, and my wife and I to the 'Change, and so home, where my wife mighty dogged, and I vexed to see it, being mightily troubled, of late, at her being out of humour, for fear of her discovering any new matter of offence against me, though I am conscious of none ; but I do hate to be unquiet at home. So, late up, silent, and not supping, but hearing her utter some words of discontent to me with silence, and so to bed, weeping to myself for grief, which she discerning, came to bed, and mighty kind, and so with great joy on both sides to sleep.

22nd. To the Exchange, calling at several places on

views of his sea-ports and palaces. He followed his profession for some years in London.

occasions relating to my feast to-morrow, on which my mind is now set ; as how to get a new looking-glass for my dining-room, and some pewter, and good wine, against to-morrow ; and so home, where I had the looking-glass set up, cost me 6*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* At the 'Change I met with Mr. Dancre, with whom I was on Wednesday ; and he took measure of my panels in my dining-room, where, in the four, I intend to have the four houses of the King, White Hall, Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Windsor. Mightily pleased with the fellow that came to lay the cloth, and fold the napkins, which I like so well, as that I am resolved to give him 40*s.* to teach my wife to do it. So to supper, with much kindness between me and my wife, which, now-a-days, is all my care, and so to bed.

23rd. To the Office till noon, when word brought me that my Lord Sandwich was come ; so I presently rose, and there I found my Lords Sandwich, Peterborough, and Sir Charles Harbord ; and presently after them comes my Lord Hinchingbroke, Mr. Sidney,¹ and Sir William Godolphin. And after greeting them, and some time spent in talk, dinner was brought up, one dish after another, but a dish at a time, but all so good ; but, above all things, the variety of wines, and excellent of their kind, I had for them, and all in so good order, that they were mightily pleased, and myself full of content at it : and indeed it was, of a dinner of about six or eight dishes, as noble as any man need to have, I think ; at least, all was done in

¹ Sidney Montagu.

the noblest manner that ever I had any, and I have rarely seen in my life better anywhere else, even at the Court. After dinner, my Lords to cards, and the rest of us sitting about them and talking, and looking on my books and pictures, and my wife's drawings, which they commended mightily; and mighty merry all day long, with exceeding great content, and so till seven at night; and so took their leaves, it being dark and foul weather. Thus was this entertainment over, the best of its kind, and the fullest of honour and content to me, that ever I had in my life: and I shall not easily have so good again. The truth is, I have some fear that I am run behind-hand in the world for these last two years, since I have not, or for some time could not, look after my accounts, which do a little allay my pleasure. But I do trust in God that I am pretty well yet, and resolve, in a very little time, to look into my accounts, and see how they stand.

24th (Lord's day). An order brought me in bed, for the Principal Officers to attend the King at my Lord Keeper's this afternoon, it being resolved late the last night; and, by the warrant, I find my Lord Keeper did not then know the cause of it, the messenger being ordered to call upon him, to tell it him by the way, as he came to us. So I up, and to my Office to set down my Journall for yesterday, and so home, and with my wife to Church, and then home, and to dinner, and after dinner out with my wife by coach, to cozen Turner's, where she and The. gone to church, but I left my wife with Mrs. Dyke and

Joyce Norton, whom I have not seen till now since their coming to town: she is become an old woman, and with as cunning a look as ever. I to White Hall; and here I met Will. Batelier, newly come post from France, his boots all dirty. He brought letters to the King, and I glad to see him, it having been reported that he was drowned, for some days past. By and by the King comes out, and so I took coach, and followed his coaches to my Lord Keeper's, at Essex House,¹ where I never was before, since I saw my old Lord Essex lie in state when he was dead; a large, but ugly house. Here all the Officers of the Navy attended, and by and by were called in to the King and Cabinet, where my Lord, who was ill, did lie upon the bed, as my old Lord Treasurer, or Chancellor, heretofore used to do; and the business was to know in what time all the King's ships might be repaired, fit for service. The Surveyor answered, in two years, and not sooner. I did give them hopes that, with supplies of money suitable, we might have them all fit for sea some part of the summer after this. Then they demanded in what time we could set out forty ships. It was answered, as they might be chosen of the newest and most ready, we could, with money, get forty ready against May. The King seemed mighty full that we should have money to do all that we de-

¹ Essex House, where Robert Devereux, third Earl of that name, died, in 1646, when Pepys was fourteen years old, stood formerly on the site of Essex Street and Devereux Court, near the Temple. It had belonged, in the reign of Elizabeth, to the Earl of Leicester, who left it to the second Earl of Essex, father of the Parliamentary-General here mentioned.

sired, and satisfied that, without it, nothing could be done : and so, without determining any thing, we were dismissed ; and I doubt all will end in some little fleete this year, and that of hired merchant-men, which would indeed be cheaper to the King, and have many conveniences attending it, more than to fit out the King's own ; and this, I perceive, is designed, springing from Sir W. Coventry's counsel ; and the King and most of the Lords, I perceive, full of it, to get the King's fleete all at once in condition for service. Thence with Mr. Wren in his coach to my cozen Turner's for discourse sake, and he told me how the business of the Parliament is wholly laid aside, it being overruled now, that they shall not meet, but must be prorogued, upon this argument chiefly, that all the differences between the two Houses, and things on foot, that were matters of difference and discontent, may be laid aside, and must begin again, if ever the House shall have a mind to pursue them. Here he set me down, and I to my cozen Turner, and stayed and talked a little ; and so took my wife, and home, and there to make her read, and then to supper, and to bed. At supper came W. Batelier and supped with us, and told us many pretty things of France, and the greatness of the present King.

25th. My wife showed me many excellent prints of Nanteuill's¹ and others, which W. Batelier hath, at my desire, brought me out of France, of the King,

¹ Robert Nanteuil, the celebrated French engraver, a native of Rheims. He died at Paris in 1678.

and Colbert, and others, most excellent, to my great content. But he hath also brought a great many gloves perfumed, of several sorts; but all too big by half for her, and yet she will have two or three dozen of them, which vexed me, and made me angry. So she, at last, to please me, did come to take what alone I thought fit, which pleased me.

26th. To the Office, and then to White Hall, leaving my wife at Unthanke's; and I to the Secretary's chamber, where I was, by particular order, this day summonsed to attend, as I find Sir D. Gauden also was. And here was the King and the Cabinet met; and, being called in, among the rest I find my Lord Privy Seale, whom I never before knew to be in so much play, as to be of the Cabinet. The business is, that the Algerines have broke the peace with us, by taking some Spaniards and goods out of an English ship, which had the Duke of York's pass, of which advice came this day; and the King is resolved to stop Sir Thomas Allen's fleete from coming home till he hath amends made him for this affront, and therefore sent for us to advise about victuals to be sent to that fleete, and some more ships; wherein I answered them to what they demanded of me, which was but some few mean things; but I see that on all these occasions they seem to rely most upon me. Home, and there I find W. Batelier hath also sent the books which I made him bring me out of France. Among others, *L'Estat de France*, Marnix,¹ &c., to my great

¹ "Résolutions Politiques, ou Maximes d'Etat," par Jean de Marnix,

content ; and so I was pleased with them : as also one or two printed musick-books of songs ; but my eyes are now too much out of tune to look upon them with any pleasure.

27th. Up, and with Sir John Minnes in his coach to White Hall, where first we waited on the Lords of the Treasury about finishing the Victualling Contract ; and there also I was put to it to make good our letter complaining against my Lord Anglesey's failing us in the payment of the money assigned us upon the Customs, where Mr. Fenn was, and I know will tell my Lord ; but it is no matter, I am over shoes already, and therefore must not fear. Then we up to a Committee of the Council for the Navy, about a business of Sir D. Gauden's relating to the Victualling, and so thence away to my cozen Turner's, where I find Roger Pepys come last night to town, and here is his mistress, Mrs. Dickenson, and by and by comes in Mr. Turner, a worthy, sober, serious man — I honour him mightily. And there we dined, having but an ordinary dinner ; and so, after dinner, she, and I, and Roger, and his mistress, to the Duke of York's play-house, and there saw "The Five Hours' Adventure," which hath not been acted a good while before, but once, and is a most excellent play, I must confess.

28th. Going home to supper with my wife, and to get her to read to me, I did find that Mr. Sheres hath, beyond his promise, not only got me a candlestick

made me, after a form he remembers to have seen in Spain, for keeping the light from one's eyes, but hath got it done in silver very neat, and designs to give it me, in thanks for my paying him his 100*l.* in money, for his service at Tangier, which was ordered him; but I do intend to force him to make me pay for it. But I yet, without his direction, cannot tell how it is to be made use of.

29th. To the Duke of York, where I did give a severe account of our proceedings, and what we found, in the business of Sir W. Jennings's demand of Supernumeraries. I thought it a good occasion to make an example of him, for he is a proud, idle fellow; and it did meet with the Duke of York's acceptance and well-liking; and he did call him in, after I had done, and did not only give him a soft rebuke, but condemns him to pay both their victuals and wages, or right himself of the purser. This I was glad of, and so were all the rest of us, though I know I have made myself an immortal enemy by it. My aunt Wight and her husband came presently, and so to dinner; and after dinner Roger, and I, and my wife, and aunt, to see Mr. Cole; but [neither] he nor his wife was within, but we looked upon his picture of Cleopatra, which I went principally to see, being so much commended by my wife and aunt; but I find it a base copy of a good original, that vexed me to hear so much commended. Thence to see Creed's wife, where both of them within; and here met Mr. Bland, newly come from Cales [Cadiz], after his dif-

ferences with Norwood.¹ I think him a foolish, light-headed man; but certainly he hath been abused in this matter by Colonel Norwood. Here Creed showed me a copy of some propositions, which Bland and others, in the name of the Corporation of Tangier, did present to Norwood, for his opinion in, in order to the King's service, which were drawn up very humbly, and were really good things; but his answer to them was in the most proud, carping, insolent, and ironically-prophane stile, that ever I saw in my life, so as I shall never think the place can do well, while he is there. Here, after some talk, and Creed's telling us that he is upon taking the next house to his present lodgings, which is next to that which my cozen Tom Pepys once lived in, in Newport Street, in Covent Garden; and is in a good place, and then, I suppose, he will keep his coach. So, setting Roger down at the Temple, who tells me that he is now concluded in all matters with his widow, we home, and there hired my wife to make an end of Boyle's Book of Formes, to-night and to-morrow; and so fell to read and sup, and then to bed. This day, Mr. Ned Pickering brought his lady to see my wife, in acknowledgment of a little present of oranges and olives, which I sent her, for his kindness to me in the buying of my horses, which was very civil. She is old, but hath, I believe, been a pretty comely woman.²

¹ See 14th Dec., 1668, *ante*.

² Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Weld, of Arnolds, in Edmonton, Middlesex. She died December, 1707.

30th. Lay long in bed, it being a fast-day for the murder of the late King ; and so up and to church, where Dr. Hicks made a dull sermon ; and so home, and W. Batelier and Balty dined with us, and I spent all the afternoon with my wife and W. Batelier talking, and then making them read, and particularly made an end of Mr. Boyle's Book of Formes, which I am glad to have over. W. Batelier then fell to read a French discourse, which he hath brought over with him for me, to invite the people of France to apply themselves to Navigation, which it do very well, and is certainly their interest, and what will undo us in a few years, if the King of France goes on to fit up his Navy, and encrease it and his trade, as he hath begun. After supper, my wife begun another book I lately bought, called "The State of England,"¹ which promises well, and is worth reading.

31st (Lord's day). To church, and there did hear the Doctor that is lately turned Divine, Dr. Waterhouse.² He preaches in a devout manner, not elegant nor very persuasive, but seems to mean well, and that he would preach holily ; and was mighty passionate against people that make a scoff of religion. And, the truth is, I did observe Mrs. Hollworthy smile often, and many others of the parish, who, I

¹ "*Angliæ Notitia*," 1668, &c., by Edward Chamberlayne, LL.D.

² A. Wood, "*Fasti*," vol. iv. p. 163 (Bliss), mentions that John Waterhouse, of Trinity College, Cambridge, was created M.D. by virtue of letters from Oliver Cromwell, in 1650, and that he went over to Ireland as physician to the army, where he discharged his duties with ability and diligence.

perceive, have known him, and were in mighty expectation of hearing him preach, but could not forbear smiling, and she particularly on me, and I on her. So home to dinner: and before dinner to my Office, to set down my Journal for this week, and then home to dinner; and after dinner to get my wife and boy, one after another, to read to me: and so spent the afternoon and the evening, and so after supper to bed. And thus endeth this month, with many different days of sadness and mirth, from differences between me and my wife; but this night we are at present very kind. And so ends this month.

February 1st. Up, and by water from the Tower to White Hall, the first time that I have gone to that end of the town by water, for two or three months, I think, since I kept a coach, which God send propitious to me; but it is a very great convenience. Meeting Mr. Povy, he and I away to Dancre's, to speak something touching the pictures I am getting him to make for me. And thence he carried me to Mr. Streeter's,¹ the famous history-painter over the way, whom I have often heard of, but did never see him before; and there I found him, and Dr. Wren,² and several Virtuossos, looking upon the paintings which he is making for the new Theatre at Oxford: and, indeed, they look as if they would be very fine, and the rest think better than those of Rubens in the Banqueting-house

¹ Robert Streater, appointed Serjeant-Painter at the Restoration. Ob.
1680.

² Afterwards Sir Christopher Wren.

at White Hall, but I do not so fully think so. But they will certainly be very noble ; and I am mightily pleased to have the fortune to see this man and his work, which is very famous ; and he a very civil little man, and lame, but lives very handsomely. So thence to my Lord Bellassis, and met him within : my business only to see a chimney-piece of Dancre's doing, in distemper, with egg to keep off the glaring of the light, which I must have done for my room : and indeed it is pretty, but, I must confess, I do think it is not altogether so beautiful as the oyle pictures ; but I will have some of one, and some of another. Thence set him down at Little Turnstile, and so I home, and there eat a little dinner, and away with my wife by coach to the King's playhouse, thinking to have seen "The Heyresse,"¹ first acted on Saturday last ; but when we come thither, we found no play there ; Kinaston, that did act a part therein, in abuse to Sir Charles Sedley, being last night exceedingly beaten with sticks, by two or three that assaulted him, so as he is mightily bruised, and forced to keep his bed.²

¹ "The Heiress" does not appear in the list of the Duke of Newcastle's works, nor has any play of that name and date been traced. At the same time, it is to be observed, that "Heir" was formerly used for "Heiress;" and such is the case in May's play of "The Heir," in vol. viii. of the last edition of Dodsley's "Old Plays."

² The story about the caning of Kynaston has been preserved by Oldys and copied by Malone, who tells us that Kynaston was vain of his personal resemblance to Sir C. Sedley, and dressed exactly like him. Sedley, to revenge this insult, hired a bravo to chastise him in St. James's Park, under the pretext that he mistook him for the baronet. According to Pepys, it would seem that the imitation was made in the play of "The Heiress," which is very likely ; and perhaps for this he got another beating, or it might be the same,

So we to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "She Would if She Could." This day, going to the play, The. Turner met us, and carried us to her mother, at my Lady Mordaunt's; and I did carry both mother and daughter with us to the Duke of York's playhouse, next door.

2nd. To dinner at noon, where I find Mr. Sheres; and there made a short dinner, and carried him with us to the King's playhouse, where "The Heyresse," notwithstanding Kinaston's being beaten, is acted: and they say the King is very angry with Sir Charles Sedley for his being beaten, but he do deny it. But his part is done by Beeston, who is fain to read it out of a book all the while, and therefore spoils the part, and almost the play, it being one of the best parts in it; and though the design is, in the first conception of it, pretty good, yet it is but an indifferent play, wrote, they say, by my Lord Newcastle. But it was pleasant to see Beeston come in with others, supposing it to be dark, and yet he is forced to read his part by the light of the candles: and this I observing to a gentleman that sat by me, he was mightily pleased therewith, and spread it up and down. But that, that pleased me most in the play is, the first song that Knipp sings, she

and that in which the story, the scene of which is laid in the park, originated. It is worth remarking, on the authority of Mr. Genest, the compiler of "Some Account of the English Stage from 1660 to 1830," that Sir C. Sedley expressly introduced the incident of the beating of one man for another, owing to similarity of dress and appearance, into his comedy of "The Mulberry Garden," which seems to have been first acted 18th May, 1668, some time before the date Pepys assigns to the caning of Kynaston, 1st Feb., 1668-9.

singing three or four ; and, indeed, it was very finely sung, so as to make the whole house clap her. Thence carried Sheres to White Hall, and there I stepped in, and looked out Mr. May, who tells me that he and his company cannot come to dine with me to-morrow, whom I expected only to come to see the manner of our Office and books, at which I was not very much displeased, having much business at the Office. My wife in mighty ill humour all night, and in the morning I found it to be from her observing Knipp to wink and smile on me, and she says I smiled on her ; and, poor wretch ! I did perceive that she did, and do on all such occasions, mind my eyes. I did, with much difficulty, pacify her, and we were friends, she desiring that hereafter, at that house, we might always sit either above in a box, or, if there be no room, close up to the lower boxes.

3rd. Up, and to the Office till noon, and then home to a little dinner, and thither again till night, mighty busy, to my great content, doing a great deal of business, and so home to supper, and to bed ; I finding this day that I may be able to do a great deal of business by dictating, if I do not read myself, or write, without spoiling my eyes, I being very well in my eyes after a great day's work.

4th. After dinner comes Mr. Spong to see me, and brings me my Parallelogram, in better order than before, and two or three draughts of the port of Brest, to my great content, and I did call Mr. Gibson to take notice of it, who is very much pleased therewith ; and

it seems this Parallelogram is not, as Mr. Sheres would, the other day, have persuaded me, the same as a Protractor,¹ which do so much the more make me value it, but of itself it is a most usefull instrument. Thence out with my wife and him, and carried him to an instrument-maker's shop in Chancery Lane, that was once a 'prentice of Greateorex's, but the master was not within, and Gibson there showed me a Parallelogram in brass, which I like so well that I will buy, and therefore bid it be made clean and fit for me. And so to my cozen Turner's, and there just spoke with The., the mother not being at home; and so to the New Exchange, and thence home to my letters; and so to supper, and to bed. This morning I made a slip from the Office to White Hall, expecting Povy's business at a Committee of Tangier, at which I would be, but it did not meet, and so I presently back.

5th. Betimes to Sir W. Coventry's, meaning by my visit to keep fresh my interest in him; and he tells me how it hath been talked that he was to go one of the Commissioners to Ireland, which he was resolved never to do, unless directly commanded; for that to go thither, while the Chief Secretary of State was his professed enemy, was to undo himself; and, therefore, it were better for him to venture being unhappy here, than to go further off, to be undone by some obscure instructions, or whatever other way of mischief his enemies should cut out for him. He mighty kind to me, and so parted. Thence home, calling in two or three

¹ An instrument used in surveying, by which the angles are taken.

places — among others, Dancre's, where I find him beginning of a piece for me, of Greenwich, which will please me well, and so home to dinner, and very busy all the afternoon, and so at night home to supper, and to bed.

6th. To the King's playhouse, and there, — in an upper box, where come in Colonel Poynton¹ and Doll Stacey, who is very fine, and, by her wedding-ring, I suppose he hath married her at last, — did see "The Moor of Venice : " but ill acted in most parts ; Mohun, which did a little surprise me, not acting Iago's part by much so well as Clur¹ used to do ; nor another Hart's, which was Cassio's ; nor, indeed, Burt doing the Moor's so well as I once thought he did. Thence home, and just at Holborn Conduit the bolt broke, that holds the fore-wheels to the perch, and so the horses went away with them, and left the coachman and us ; but being near our coachmaker's, and we staying in a little ironmonger's shop, we were presently supplied with another.

¹ Probably *Boynton*. Sir Matthew Boynton, of Barmston, in Yorkshire, was created a Baronet in 1618. He had seven sons, one of whom, *Colonel* Boynton, having embraced, like his father, the cause of the Parliament, took Sir John Hotham prisoner at York. Sir Matthew died in 1646. His eldest son became Sir Francis Boynton; the second, Matthew, was slain at Wigan, before the advance of Charles II. to Worcester: he left two daughters, one of whom, Katharine, the Maid of Honour, who figures in Grammont, married Richard Talbot, afterwards Duke of Tyrconnel; the other married Wentworth, Earl of Roscommon. The remaining five sons, Marmaduke, John, Gustavus, Cornelius, Charles, all died unmarried. One of the sons must have been the *Colonel* Boynton who took Sir John Hotham prisoner, and in all probability he is the same who is here mentioned in connection with Doll Stacey. Pepys only *supposes* he had married her.

7th (Lord's day). My wife mighty peevish in the morning about my lying unquietly a'nights, and she will have it that it is a late practice, from my evil thoughts in my dreams, and mightily she is troubled about it; but all blew over, and I up, and to church, and so home to dinner, where my wife in a worse fit, which lasted all the afternoon, and shut herself up in her closet, and I mightily grieved and vexed, and could not get her to tell me what ailed her, or to let me into her closet, but at last she did, where I found her crying on the ground, and I could not please her; but at last find that she did plainly expound it to me. It was, that she did believe me false to her with Jane, and did rip up three or four silly circumstances of her not rising till I come out of my chamber, and her letting me thereby see her dressing herself; and that I must needs go into her chamber; which was so silly, and so far from truth, that I could not be troubled at it, though I could not wonder at her being troubled, if she had these thoughts. At last, I did give her such satisfaction, that we were mighty good friends.

8th. Up, and dressed myself; and by coach, with W. Hewer and my wife, to White Hall, where she set us down; and in the way, our little boy, at Martin, my bookseller's shop, going to 'light, did fall down; and, had he not been a most nimble boy (I saw how he did it, and was mightily pleased with him for it), he had been run over by the coach. To visit my Lord Sandwich; and there, while my Lord was dressing himself, did see a young Spaniard, that he hath

brought over with him, dance, which he is admired for, as the best dancer in Spain, and indeed he do with mighty mastery ; but I do not like his dancing as well as the English, though my Lord commends it mightily : but I will have him to my house, and show it my wife. Here I met with Mr. Moore, who tells me the state of my Lord's accounts of his embassy, which I find not so good as I thought : for, though it be passed the King and his Cabal, the Committee for Foreign Affairs, as they are called, yet they have cut off from 19,000*l.* full 8000*l.*, and have now sent it to the Lords of the Treasury, who, though the Committee have allowed the rest, yet they are not obliged to abide by it. So that I do fear this account may yet be long ere it be passed — much more, ere that sum be paid : I am sorry for the family, and not a little for what it owes me. To my wife, and in our way home did show her the tall woman, in Holborne, which I have seen before ; and I measured her, and she is, without shoes, just six feet five inches high, and they say not above twenty-one years old. Thence home, and there to dinner, and my wife in a wonderful ill humour ; and, after dinner, I staid with her alone, being not able to endure this life, and we fell to some angry words together ; but by and by were mighty good friends, she telling me plain it was about Jane, which I made a matter of mirth at ; but at last did call up Jane, and confirm her mistress's directions for her being gone at Easter, which I find the wench willing to be, but directly prayed that Tom might go

with her, which I promised, and was but what I designed ; and she being thus spoke with, and gone, my wife and I good friends, and mighty kind, I having promised, and I will perform it, never to give her for the time to come ground of new trouble ; and so I to the Office, with a very light heart, and there close at my business all the afternoon. This day I was told by Mr. Wren, that Captain Cox, Master-Attendant at Deptford, is to be one of us very soon, he and Tippetts being to take their turns for Chatham and Portsmouth, which choice I like well enough ; and Captain Annesley is to come in his room at Deptford. This morning also, going to visit Roger Pepys, at the potticary's in King's Street, he tells me that Roger is gone to his wife's, so that they have been married, as he tells me, ever since the middle of last week : it was his design, upon good reasons, to make no noise of it ; but I am well enough contented that it is over.

9th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Island Princess," which I like mighty well, as an excellent play : and here we find Kinaston to be well enough to act again, which he do very well, after his beating by Sir Charles Sedley's appointment ; and so home, and there to my business at the Office, my mind being mightily eased by my having this morning delivered to the Office a letter of advice about our answers to the Commissioners of Accounts, whom we have neglected, and I have done this as a record in my justification hereafter, when it shall come to be examined.

10th. To White Hall, where the Duke of York was gone a-hunting: and so to the plaisterer's at Charing Cross, that casts heads and bodies in plaister: and there I had my whole face done; but I was vexed first to be forced to daub all my face over with pomatum: but it was pretty to feel how soft and easily it is done on the face, and by and by, by degrees, how hard it becomes, that you cannot break it, and sits so close, that you cannot pull it off, and yet so easy. that it is as soft as a pillow, so safe is everything where many parts of the body do bear alike. Thus was the mould made; but when it came off there was little pleasure in it, as it looks in the mould, nor any resemblance whatever there will be in the figure, when I come to see it cast off. To White Hall, where I staid till the Duke of York came from hunting, which he did by and by, and, when dressed, did come out to dinner; and there I waited: and he did tell me that to-morrow was to be the great day that the business of the Navy would be discoursed of before the King and his Caball, and that he must stand on his guard, and did design to have had me in readiness by, but that upon second thoughts did think it better to let it alone. Here he dined, and did mightily magnify his sauce, which he did then eat with every thing, and said it was the best universal sauce in the world, it being taught him by the Spanish Ambassador;¹ made of some parsley and a dry toast,

¹ The Conde de Dona.

beat in a mortar, together with vinegar, salt, and a little pepper : he eats it with flesh, or fowl, or fish : and then he did now mightily commend some new sort of wine lately found out, called Navarre wine, which I tasted, and is, I think, good wine : but I did like better the notion of the sauce, and by and by did taste it, and liked it mightily. After dinner, I did what I went for, which was to get his consent that Balty might hold his Muster-Master's place by deputy, in his new employment which I design for him, about the Storekeeper's accounts ; which the Duke of York did grant me, and I was mightily glad of it. Home, and there I find Povy and W. Batelier, by appointment, met to talk of some merchandize of wine and linnen ; but I do not like of their troubling my house to meet in, having no mind to their pretences of having their rendezvous here. This day, at dinner, I sent to Mr. Spong to come to me to Hercules Pillars, who came to us, and there did bring with him my new Parallelogram of brass, which I was mightily pleased with, and paid for it 25*s.*, and am mightily pleased with his ingenious and modest company.

11th. Heard that the last night Colonel Middleton's wife ¹ died, a woman I never saw since she come hither, having never been within their house since.

12th. To wait on the Duke of York, with the rest of us, at the Robes, where the Duke of York did tell us that the King would have us prepare a draught of

¹ See 17th Feb., *post*.

the present administration of the Navy, and what it was in the late times, in order to his being able to distinguish between the good and the bad, which I shall do, but to do it well will give me a great deal of trouble. Here we showed him Sir J. Minnes's propositions about balancing Storekeeper's accounts; and I did show him Hosier's, which did please him mightily, and he will have it showed the Council and King anon, to be put in practice. Thence to the Treasurer's; and I and Sir J. Minnes and Mr. Tippetts down to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and there had a hot debate from Sir Thomas Clifford and my Lord Ashly, the latter of whom, I hear, is turning about as fast as he can to the Duke of Buckingham's side, being in danger, it seems, of being otherwise out of play, which would not be convenient for him, against Sir W. Coventry and Sir J. Duncomb, who did uphold our Office against an accusation of our Treasurers, who told the Lords that they found that we had run the King in debt 50,000*l.*, or more, more than the money appointed for the year would defray, which they declared like fools, and with design to hurt us, though the thing is in itself ridiculous. But my Lord Ashly and Clifford did most horribly cry out against the want of method in the Office. At last it came that it should be put in writing what they had to object; but I was devilish mad at it, to see us thus wounded by our own members. My wife and I to Hercules Pillars, and there dined; and there coming a Frenchman by with his Show, we did make him

show it us, which he did just as Lacy acts it, which made it mighty pleasant to me. Away, and to Dancre's, and there saw our picture of Greenwich in doing,¹ which is mighty pretty. Attended with Lord Brouncker the King and Council, about the proposition of balancing Storekeeper's accounts: and there presented Hosier's book, and it was mighty well resented² and approved of. So the Council being up, we to the Queen's side with the King and Duke of York: and the Duke of York did take me out to talk of our Treasurers, whom he is mighty angry with; and I perceive he is mighty desirous to bring in as many good motions of profit and reformation in the Navy as he can, before the Treasurers do light upon them, they being desirous, it seems, to be thought the great reformers: and the Duke of York do well. But to my great joy he is mighty open to me in every thing; and by this means I know his whole mind, and shall be able to secure myself, if he stands. Here to-night I understand, by my Lord Brouncker, that at last it is concluded on by the King and Buckingham that my Lord of Ormond shall not hold his government of Ireland, which is a great stroke, to shew the power of Buckingham and the poor spirit of the King, and little hold that any man can have of him. I and my wife called at my cozen Turner's, and there met our new cozen Pepys, Mrs. Dickenson, and Bab. and Betty come yesterday to town, poor girls, whom

¹ See *ante*, 22nd Jan., 1668-9.

² Resent, to take *well* or ill. — *Johnson*.

we have reason to love, and mighty glad we are to see them; and there staid a little, being also mightily pleased to see Betty Turner, who is now in town, and her brothers Charles and Will, being come from school to see their father, and there talked a while, and so home, and there Pelling hath got me W. Pen's book against the Trinity.¹ I got my wife to read it to me; and I find it so well writ as, I think, it is too good for him ever to have writ it; and it is a serious sort of book, and not fit for every body to read.

14th (Lord's day). Up, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry, and there I with him all the morning, full of very good discourse of the Navy and public matters, to my great content, wherein I find him doubtful that all will be bad, and, for his part, he tells me he takes no care for any thing more than in the Treasury; and that, that being done, he goes to cards and other delights, as plays, and in the summer-time to bowles. But here he did show me two or three old books of the Navy, of my Lord Northumberland's² times, which he hath taken many good notes out of, for justifying the Duke of York and us, in many things, wherein, perhaps, precedents will be necessary to produce, which did give me great content. Coming

¹ Entitled "The Sandy Foundation Shaken." It caused him to be imprisoned in the Tower. "Aug. 4, 1669. Young Penn who wrote the blasphemous book is delivered to his father to be transported" — *Letter to Sir John Birkenhead*, quoted by Bishop Kennett in his MS. Collections, vol. lxxxix. p. 477.

² Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, Lord High Admiral to Charles I.

home, I do find a letter from Mr. Wren, to call me to the Duke of York after dinner. So dined in all haste, and then W. Hewer and I to White Hall, where the Duke of York expected me; and in his closet Wren and I. He did tell me how the King hath been acquainted with the Treasurers' discourse at the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the other day, and is dissatisfied with our running him in debt, which I removed; and he did carry me to the King, and I did satisfy him also; but his satisfaction is nothing worth, it being easily got, and easily removed; but I do purpose to put in writing that which shall make the Treasurers ashamed. But the Duke of York is horrid angry against them; and he hath cause, for they do all they can to bring dishonour upon his management, as do plainly appear in all they do. Having done with the Duke of York, who do repose all in me, I with Mr. Wren to his chamber, to talk; where he observed, that these people are all of them a broken sort of people, that have not much to lose, and therefore will venture all to make their fortunes better: that Sir Thomas Osborne is a beggar, having 11 or 1200*l.* a-year, but owes above 10,000*l.* The Duke of Buckingham's condition is shortly this: that he hath about 19,600*l.* a-year, of which he pays away about 7000*l.* a-year in interest, about 2000*l.* in fee-farm rents to the King, about 6000*l.* in wages and pensions, and the rest to live upon, and pay taxes for the whole.

¹ Of the Navy.

Wren says, that for the Duke of York to stir in this matter, as his quality might justify, would but make all things worse, and that therefore he must bend, and suffer all, till time works it out : that he fears they will sacrifice the Church, and that the King will take anything, and so he will hold up his head a little longer, and then break in pieces. But Sir W. Coventry did to-day mightily magnify my late Lord Treasurer,¹ for a wise and solid, though infirm man : and, among other things, that when he hath said it was impossible in nature to find this or that sum of money, and my Lord Chancellor² hath made sport of it, and told the King that when my Lord hath said it was impossible, yet he hath made shift to find it, and that was by Sir G. Carteret's getting credit, my Lord did once in his hearing say thus, which he magnifies as a great saying — that impossible would be found impossible at last ; meaning that the King would run himself out, beyond all his credit and funds, and then we should too late find it impossible ; which is, he says, now come to pass. For Sir W. Coventry says they could borrow what money they would, if they had assignments, and funds to secure it with, which before they had enough of, and then must spend it as if it would never have an end. From White Hall to my cozen Turner's, and there took up my wife ; and so to my uncle Wight's, and there sat and supped, and talked pretty merry, and then walked home, and to bed.

¹ Southampton.² Clarendon.

15th. Up, and with Tom to White Hall ; and there at a Committee of Tangier, where a great instance of what a man may lose by the neglect of a friend : Povy never had such an opportunity of passing his accounts, the Duke of York being there, and everybody well disposed, and in expectation of them ; but my Lord Ashly, on whom he relied, and for whose sake this day was pitched on, that he might be sure to be there, among the rest of his friends, staid too long, till the Duke of York and his company thought unfit to stay longer : and so the day lost, and God knows when he will have so good a one again, as long as he lives ; and this was the man of the whole company that he hath made the most interest to gain, and now most depended upon him. To the plaisterer's, and there saw the figure of my face taken from the mould : and it is most admirably like, and I will have another made, before I take it away. To my cozen 'Turner's, where, having the last night been told by her that she had drawn me for her Valentine, I did this day call at the New Exchange, and bought her a pair of green silk stockings¹ and garters and shoe-strings, and two pair of jessimy gloves, all coming to about 28s., and did give them to her this noon. At the 'Change, I did at my bookseller's shop accidentally fall into talk with

¹ Pepys was perhaps induced to make this purchase for his cousin, in accordance with the taste of the Duke of York, who, in allusion to Lady Chesterfield's wearing green stockings, remarked, says Hamilton — "*qu'il n'y avoit point de salut pour une jambe sans bas verds.*" — *Memoires de Grammont.*

Sir Samuel Tuke¹ about trees, and Mr. Evelyn's garden; and I do find him, I think, a little conceited, but a man of very fine discourse as any I ever heard almost, which I was mighty glad of. After dinner, my wife and I endeavoured to make a visit to Ned Pickering; but he not at home, nor his lady; and therefore back again, and took up my cozen Turner, and to my cozen Roger's lodgings, and there find him pretty well again, and his wife mighty kind and merry, and did make mighty much of us, and I believe he is married to a very good woman. Here was also Bab. and Betty, who have not their clothes yet, and therefore cannot go out, otherwise I would have had them abroad to-morrow; but the poor girls mighty kind to us, and we must shew them kindness also. In Suffolk Street lives Moll Davis; and we did see her coach come for her to her door, a mighty pretty fine coach. To White Hall; and there, by means of Mr. Cooling, did get into the play, the only one we have seen this winter: it was "The Five Hours' Adventure:" but I sat so far I could not hear well, nor was there any pretty woman that I did see, but my wife, who sat in my Lady Fox's pew² with her. The house very full; and

¹ Sir Samuel Tuke of Cressing Temple, Essex, Bart., was a Colonel in Charles the First's army, and cousin to John Evelyn. He died at Somerset House, Jan., 1673. We have seen that he was the translator of "The Adventures of Five Hours." He was a Roman Catholic; and there is a life of him in Dodd's "Church History."

² We may suppose that pews were by no means common at this time, within consecrated walls, from the word being applied indifferently by Pepys to a box in a place of amusement, and two days afterwards to a seat at church. It would appear, from other authorities, that between 1646 and 1660, scarcely

late before done, so that it was past eleven before we got home.

16th. Home, where I find some things of W. Batelier's come out of France, among which some clothes for my wife, wherein she is likely to lead me to the expence of so much money as vexed me ; but I seemed so, more than I at this time was, only to prevent her taking too much. But I was mightily pleased with another picture of the King of France's head, of Nanteuil's, bigger than the other which he brought over : and so to the Office, where busy all the afternoon, though my eyes mighty bad with the light of the candles last night, which was so great as to make my eyes sore all this day, and do teach me, by a manifest experiment, that it is only too much light that do make my eyes sore. Nevertheless, with the help of my tube, and being desirous of easing my mind of five or six days journall, I did venture to write it down from ever since this day se'nnight, and I think without hurting my eyes any more than they were before, which was very much, and so home to supper and to bed.

17th. The King dining yesterday at the Dutch Embassador's, after dinner they drank, and were pretty merry ; and, amongst the rest of the King's company, there was that worthy fellow my lord of Rochester, and Tom Killigrew, whose mirth and raillery offended the former so much, that he did give Tom Killigrew a box on the ear in the King's presence, which do give

any pews had been erected; and Sir C Wren is known to have objected to their introduction into his London churches.

much offence to the people here at Court, to see how cheap the King makes himself, and the more, for that the King hath not only passed by the thing, and pardoned it to Rochester already, but this very morning the King did publickly walk up and down, and Rochester I saw with him as free as ever, to the King's everlasting shame, to have so idle a rogue his companion.¹ How Tom Killigrew takes it, I do not hear. I do also this day hear that my Lord Privy Seale do accept to go Lieutenant into Ireland; but whether it be true or not, I cannot tell. To Colonel Middleton's, to the burial of his wife,² where we were all invited, and much more company, and had each of us a ring: and so towards evening to our church, where there was a sermon preached by Mills, and so home. At church there was my Lord Brouncker and Mrs. Williams in our pew, the first time they were ever there or that I knew that either of them would go to church. At home comes Castle to me, to desire me to go to Mr. Pedly this night, he being to go out of town to-morrow morning, which I, therefore, did, by hackney-coach, first going to White Hall to meet with Sir W. Coventry, but missed him. But here I had a pleasant rencontre of a lady in mourning, that, by the little light I had, seemed handsome. I passing by her, did observe she

¹ It ought to be remembered, however, that Rochester was not yet twenty-one years old, whilst Charles was of the mature age of thirty-eight.

² "Buried, *Mrs. Elizabeth*, wife of Colonel Thomas Middleton." — *Register of St. Olave's, Hart Street*. According to Burke, Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Needham, of Lambeth, married Charles, brother of Sir Thomas Middleton, Bart. Her sister Eleanor was mistress to the Duke of Monmouth.

looked back again and again upon me, I suffering her to go before, and it being now duske. She went into the little passage towards the Privy Water-Gate, and I followed, but missed her; but coming back again, I observed she returned, and went to go out of the Court. I followed her, and took occasion, in the new passage now built, where the walk is to be, to take her by the hand, to lead her through, which she willingly accepted, and I led her to the Great Gate, and there left her, she telling me, of her own accord, that she was going as far as Charing Cross; but my boy was at the gate, and so I durst not go out with her. So to Lincoln's Inn, where to Mr. Pedly, with whom I spoke, and did my business presently: and I find him a man of very good language, and mighty civil, and I believe very upright: and so home, where W. Batelier was, and supped with us, and I did reckon this night what I owed him; and I do find that the things my wife, of her own head, hath taken, together with my own, which comes not to above 5*l.*, comes to above 22*l.* But it is the last, and so I am the better contented; and they are things that are not trifles, but clothes, gloves, shoes, hoods, &c. So after supper, to bed.

18th. To the Office and at noon home, expecting to have this day seen Bab. and Betty Pepys here, but they came not; and so after dinner my wife and I to the Duke of York's house, to a play, and there saw "The Mad Lover," which do not please me so well as it used to do, only Betterton's part still pleases me. But here who should we have come to us but Bab. and

Betty and Talbot, the first play they were yet at; and going to see us, and hearing by my boy, whom I sent to them, that we were here, they came to us hither, and happened all of us to sit by my cozen Turner and The. We carried them home first, and then took Bab. and Betty to our house, where they lay and supped, and pretty merry, and very fine with their new clothes, and good comely girls they are enough, and very glad I am of their being with us, though I would very well have been contented to have been without the charge. So they to bed.

19th. Up, and after seeing the girls, who lodged in our bed, with their maid Martha, who hath been their father's maid these twenty years and more, I to the Office, while the young people went to see Bedlam.¹ This morning, among other things, talking with Sir W. Coventry, I did propose to him my putting in to serve in Parliament, if there should, as the world begins to expect, be a new one chose: he likes it mightily, both for the King's and Service's sake, and the Duke of York's, and will propound it to the Duke of York: and I confess, if there be one, I would be glad to be in.

20th. After dinner with my wife and my two girls to the Duke of York's house, and there saw "The Gratefull Servant,"² a pretty good play, and which I have forgot that ever I did see. And thence with them to Mrs. Grotier's, the Queen's tire-woman, for

¹ Then in Bishopsgate Without.

² A comedy, by James Shirley.

a pair of locks for my wife ; she is an oldish French woman, but with a pretty hand as most I have seen ; and so home.

21st (Lord's day). With my wife and two girls to church, they very fine ; and so home, where comes my cozen Roger and his wife, I having sent for them, to dine with us, and there comes in by chance also Mr. Shepley, who is come to town with my Lady Paulina, who is desperately sick, and is gone to Chelsey, to the old house where my Lord himself was once sick, where I doubt my Lord means to visit her, more for young Mrs. Beck's sake than for her's. Here we dined with W. Batelier, and W. Hewer with us, these two girls making it necessary that they be always with us, for I am not company light enough to be always merry with them : and so sat talking all the afternoon, and then Shepley went away first, and then my cozen Roger and his wife. And so I to my office, to write down my Journall. In the evening comes W. Batelier and his sisters and supped with us, and so spent the evening, myself being somewhat out of order because of my eyes, which have never been well since last Sunday's reading at Sir W. Coventry's chamber.

22nd. Up, and betimes to White Hall ; but there the Duke of York is gone abroad a hunting, and therefore I into London, with Sir H. Cholmly, talking all the way of Tangier matters, wherein I find him troubled from some reports lately from Norwood (who is his great enemy and I doubt an ill man), of some decay of the Mole, and a breach made therein by the

sea to a great value. So I home, and after dinner, with my wife, in her morning-gown, and the two girls dressed, to Unthanke's, where my wife dresses herself, having her gown this day laced, and a new petticoat ; and so is indeed very fine. In the evening I do carry them to White Hall, and there did without much trouble get into the playhouse, there in a good place among the Ladies of Honour, and myself also sat in the pit ; and then by and by came the King and Queen, and they began " Bartholomew Fair." But I like no play here so well as at the common playhouse ; besides that, my eyes being very ill 'since last Sunday and this day se'n-night, I was in mighty pain to defend myself now from the light of the candles. After the play done, we met with W. Batelier and W. Hewer and Talbot Pepys, and they followed us in a hackney-coach : and we all stopped at Hercules' Pillars ;¹ and there I did give them the best supper I could, and pretty merry ; and so home between eleven and twelve at night, and so to bed, mightily well pleased with this day's work.

23rd. Up : and to the Office, where all the morning, and then home, and put a mouthfull of victuals in my mouth ; and by a hackney-coach followed my wife and the girls, who are gone by eleven o'clock, thinking to have seen a new play at the Duke of York's house. But I do find them staying at my tailor's, the play not being to-day, and therefore I took them to Westmin-

¹ In Fleet Street.

ster Abbey, and there did show them all the tombs very finely, having one with us alone, there being other company this day to see the tombs, it being Shrove Tuesday ; and here we did see, by particular favour, the body of Queen Katherine of Valois ; and I had the upper part of her body in my hands, and I did kiss her mouth, reflecting upon it that I did kiss a Queen, and that this was my birth-day, thirty-six years old, that I did first kiss a Queen.¹ But here this man, who seems to understand well, tells me that the saying is not true that she was never buried, for she was buried ; only, when Henry the Seventh built his chapel, she was taken up and laid in this wooden coffin ; but I did there see that, in it, the body was buried in a leaden one, which remains under the body to this day. Thence to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there, finding the play begun, we homeward to the Glass-

¹ Pepys's attachment to the fair sex extended even to a dead queen. The record of this royal salute on his natal day is very characteristic. The story told him in Westminster Abbey appears to have been correct ; for Neale informs us (" History of Westminster Abbey," vol. ii. p. 88) that near the south side of Henry the Fifth's tomb, there was formerly a wooden chest, or coffin, wherein part of the skeleton and parched body of Katherine de Valois, his Queen (from the waist upwards), was to be seen. She was interred in Jan., 1457, in the Chapel of Our Lady, at the east end of this Church ; but when that building was pulled down by her grandson, Henry the Seventh, her coffin was found to be decayed, and her body was taken up, and placed in a chest, near her first husband's tomb. " There," says Dart, " it hath ever since continued to be seen, the bones being firmly united, and thinly clothed with flesh, like scrapings of tanned leather." This awful spectacle of frail mortality was at length removed from the public gaze, into St. Nicholas's Chapel, and finally deposited under the monument of Sir George Villiers, when the vault was made for the remains of Elizabeth Percy, Duchess of Northumberland, in December, 1776.

House,¹ and there shewed my cozens the making of glass, and had several things made with great content ; and, among others ; I had one or two singing-glasses made, which made an echo to the voice, the first that ever I saw ; but so thin, that the very breath broke one or two of them. Thence to Mr. Batelier's, where we supped and had a good supper, and here was Mr. Gumbleton ; and after supper some fiddles, and so to dance ; but my eyes were so out of order, that I had little pleasure this night at all, though I was glad to see the rest merry.

24th. I to the Office, and at night my wife sends for me to W. Hewer's lodging, where I find two best chambers of his so finely furnished, and all so rich and neat, that I was mightily pleased with him and them : and here only my wife, and I, and the two girls, and had a mighty neat dish of custards and tarts, and good drink and talk. And so away home to bed, with infinite content at this his treat ; for it was mighty pretty, and everything mighty rich.

25th. To the Duke of York's house, and there before one, but the house infinite full, where, by and by, the King and Court came, it being a new play, or an old one new vamped, by Shadwell, called "*The Royall Shepherdesse* ;"² but the silliest for words and design, and everything, that ever I saw in my whole life, there being nothing in the world pleasing in it, but a good

¹ In Blackfriars. The name of Glasshouse Yard still remains.

² A tragi-comedy, altered by Thomas Shadwell from a comedy written by Mr. Fountain, called "*The Rewards of Virtue*."

martial dance of pikemen, where Harris and another do handle their pikes in a dance to admiration; but I was never less satisfied with a play in my life.

26th. Was forced to send my excuse to the Duke of York for my not attending him this day because of my cold, and was the less troubled because I was thereby out of the way to offer my proposals about Pursers till the Surveyor had delivered his notions, which I would be glad to see and peruse before I offer what I have to say. Though I could not speak, yet I went with my wife and girls to the King's playhouse, and saw "The Faithfull Shepherdesse." But, Lord! what an empty house, there not being, as I could tell the people, so many as to make up above 10*l.* in the whole house! The being of a new play at the other house, I suppose, being the cause, though it be so silly a play that I wonder how there should be enough people to go thither two days together, and not leave more to fill this house. The emptiness of the house took away our pleasure a great deal, though I liked it the better; for I plainly discern the musick is the better, by how much the house the emptier. Thence home, and again to W. Hewer's, and had a pretty little treat, and spent an hour or two, my voice being wholly taken away with my cold, and so home and to bed.

28th (Lord's day). Up, and got my wife to read to me a copy of what the Surveyor offered to the Duke of York on Friday, he himself putting it into my hands to read; but, Lord! it is a poor, silly thing ever to think to bring it in practice, in the King's Navy. It

is to have the Captains to account for all stores and victuals ; but upon so silly grounds, to my thinking, and ignorance of the present instructions of Officers, that I am ashamed to hear it. However, I do take a copy of it, for my future use and answering ; and so to church, where, God forgive me ! I did most of the time gaze on the fine milliner's wife, in Fenchurch Street, who was at our church to-day ; and so home to dinner. After dinner to write down my Journall ; and then abroad by coach with my cozens, to their father's, where we are kindly received, but he is in great pain for his man Arthur, who, he fears, is now dead, having been desperate sick, and speaks so much of him that my cozen, his wife, and I, did make mirth of it, and call him Arthur O'Bradly.¹ After staying here a little, and eat and drank, and she give me some ginger-bread made in cakes, like chocolate, very good, made by a friend, I carried him and her to my cozen Turner's, where we staid, expecting her coming from church ; but she coming not, I went to her husband's chamber in the Temple, and thence fetched her. After talking there a while, and agreeing to be all merry at my house on Tuesday next, I away home ; and there spent the evening talking and reading, with my wife and Mr. Pelling:

March 1st. I do hear that my Lady Paulina Montagu did die yesterday ; at which I went to my Lord's lodgings, but he is shut up with sorrow, and so not

¹ This was an allusion to the old and popular ballad of Arthur O'Bradley, printed in the Appendix to Robin Hood, 1795.

to be spoken with : and therefore I returned, and to Westminster Hall, where I have not been, I think, in some months. And here the Hall was very full, the King having, by Commission to some Lords this day, prorogued the Parliament till the 19th of October next : at which I am glad, hoping to have time to go over to France this year. But I was most of all surprised this morning by my Lord Bellassis, who, by appointment, met me at Auditor Wood's, at the Temple, and tells me of a duell designed between the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord Halifax, or Sir W. Coventry ; the challenge being carried by Harry Saville, but prevented by my Lord Arlington, and the King told of it ; and this was all the discourse at Court this day. But I, meeting Sir W. Coventry in the Duke of York's chamber, he would not own it to me, but told me he was a man of too much peace to meddle with fighting, and so it rested : but the talk is full in the town of the business. Thence, having walked some turns with my cozen Pepys, and most people, by their discourse, believing that this Parliament will never sit more, I away to several places to look after things against to-morrow's feast, and so home to dinner ; and thence, after noon, my wife and I out by hackney-coach, and spent the afternoon in several places, doing several things at the 'Change and elsewhere against to-morrow : and, among others, I did bring home a piece of my face cast in plaister, for to make a vizard upon, for my eyes. And so home, where W. Batelier came, and sat with us ; and there, after many doubts, did resolve

to go on with our feast and dancing to-morrow ; and so, after supper, left the maids to make clean the house, and to lay the cloth, and other things against to-morrow, and so to bed.

2nd. Home, and there I find my company come, namely, Madam Turner, Dyke, The., and Betty Turner, and Mr. Bellwood, formerly their father's clerk, but now set up for himself — a conceited, silly fellow, but one they make mightily of — my cozen Roger Pepys, and his wife, and two daughters. I had a noble dinner for them, as I almost ever had, and mighty merry, and particularly myself pleased with looking on Betty Turner, who is mighty pretty. After dinner, we fell one to one talk, and another to another, and looking over my house, and closet, and things ; and The. Turner to write a letter to a lady in the country, in which I did, now and then, put in half a dozen words, and sometimes five or six lines, and then she as much, and made up a long and good letter, she being mighty witty really, though troublesome-humoured with it. And thus till night, that our musick came, and the Office ready and candles, and also W. Batelier and his sister Susan came, and also Will. Howe and two gentlemen more, strangers, which, at my request yesterday, he did bring to dance, called Mr. Ireton and Mr. Starkey. We fell to dancing, and continued, only with intermission for a good supper, till two in the morning, the musick being Greeting, and another most excellent violin, and theorbo, the best in town. And so with mighty mirth, and pleased with their dancing of

jigs afterwards several of them, and, among others, Betty Turner, who did it mighty prettily ; and, lastly, W. Batelier's " Blackmore and Blackmore Mad ;" and then to a country-dance again, and so broke up with extraordinary pleasure, as being one of the days and nights of my life spent with the greatest content ; and that which I can but hope to repeat again a few times in my whole life. This done, we parted, the strangers home, and I did lodge my cozen Pepys and his wife in our blue chamber. My cozen Turner, her sister, and The., in our best chamber ; Bab., Betty, and Betty Turner, in our own chamber ; and myself and my wife in the maid's bed, which is very good. Our maids in the coachman's bed ; the coachman with the boy in his settle-bed,¹ and Tom where he uses to lie. And so I did, to my great content, lodge at once in my house, with the greatest ease, fifteen, and eight of them strangers of quality. My wife this day put on first her French gown, called a Sac,² which becomes her very well, brought her over by W. Batelier.

3rd. To my guests, and got them to breakfast, and then parted by coaches ; and I did, in mine, carry my she-cozen Pepys and her daughters home, and there left them. To White Hall, where W. Hewer met me ; and he and I took a turn in St. James's Park, and in the Mall did meet Sir W. Coventry and Sir J. Duncomb, and did speak with them about some business before the Lords of the Treasury ; but I did find them

¹ A folding bed.

² Which remained in fashion till a much later date.

more than usually busy, though I knew not then the reason of it, but I guessed it by what followed next day. Thence to Dancre's, the painter's, and there saw my picture of Greenwich, finished to my very great content, though this manner of distemper do make the figures not so pleasing as in oyle. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw an old play, the first time acted these forty years, called "The Lady's Tryall,"¹ acted only by the young people of the house; but the house very full. But it is but a sorry play, and the worse by how much my head is out of humour by being sleepy and my legs weary since last night. So to the New Exchange, and so called at my cozen Turner's; and there, meeting Mr. Bellwood, did hear how my Lord Mayor,² being invited this day to dinner at the Reader's at the Temple, and endeavouring to carry his sword up,³ the students did pull it down, and forced him to go and stay all the day in a private Councillor's chamber, until the Reader himself could get the young gentlemen to dinner; and then my Lord Mayor did retreat out of the Temple by stealth, with his sword up. This do make great heat among the students; and my Lord Mayor did send to the King, and also I hear that Sir Richard Browne did cause the drums to beat for the Train-bands;⁴ but all

¹ A tragedy, by John Ford.

² Sir William Peake, clothworker.

³ As a symbol of his authority.

⁴ The only printed notice of this dispute occurs in Pearce's "History of the Inns of Court and Chancery," 8vo, 1848, p. 236: — "The Lord Mayor (Sir W. Turner) complained to the King, and on the 7th April, 1669, the case was heard before his Majesty in council. The ringleaders, Mr Hodges, Mr.

is over, only I hear that the students do resolve to try the Charter of the City. So we home, and betimes to bed, and slept well all night.

4th. To White Hall, where in the first court I did meet Sir Jeremy Smith, who did tell me that Sir W. Coventry was just now sent to the Tower, about the business of his challenging the Duke of Buckingham, and so was also Harry Saville¹ to the Gate-house;² which, as he is a gentleman, and of the Duke of York's bedchamber, I heard afterwards that the Duke of York is mightily incensed at it, and do appear very high to the King that he might not be sent thither, but to the Tower, this being done only in contempt to him. This news of Sir W. Coventry did strike me to the heart, and with reason, for by this and my Lord of Ormond's business, I do doubt that the Duke

Wynn, and Mr. Monday, appeared at the Board, attended by counsel, who were heard on their behalf. Upon consideration, it appearing to the King that the matter very much depended upon the right and privilege of bearing up the Lord Mayor's sword within the Temple, which, by order of Council on the 24th March, in the same year, had been left to be decided by due course of law, his Majesty thought fit to suspend the declaration of his pleasure thereupon, until the said right and privilege should be determined at law." Mr. Tyrrel, the City Remembrancer, has obligingly communicated the only two entries relating to the business, existing in the Corporation Records: the first is an order, dated 23rd March, 1668, for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c., to attend the Council on the following day; and the other directs the Chamberlain to pay the Town Clerk 23*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*, by him disbursed for counsel, about the business of the Temple, &c. It would appear, the question remains unsettled to this day.

¹ Henry Savile was a younger son of Sir William Savile, Bart., of Thornhill, in Yorkshire, by Anne, one of the daughters of Thomas, first Lord Coventry, and sister to Sir William Coventry. He became Vice-Chamberlain to Charles II., and served in Parliament for Newark; and died *s. p.*

² At Westminster.

of Buckingham will be so flushed, that he will not stop at any thing, but be forced to do any thing now, as thinking it not safe to end here ; and, Sir W. Coventry being gone, the King will have never a good counsellor, nor the Duke of York any sure friend to stick to him ; nor any good man will be left to advise what is good. This, therefore, do heartily trouble me as any thing that ever I heard. So up into the House, and met with several people ; but the Committee did not meet ; and the whole House I find full of this business of Sir W. Coventry's, and most men very sensible of the cause and effects of it. So, meeting with my Lord Bellassis, he told me the particulars of this matter ; that it arises about a quarrel which Sir W. Coventry had with the Duke of Buckingham about a design between the Duke and Sir Robert Howard, to bring him into a play at the King's house, which W. Coventry not enduring, did by H. Saville send a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, that he did desire to speak with him. Upon which, the Duke of Buckingham did bid Holmes, his champion ever since my Lord Shrewsbury's business,¹ go to him to know the business ; but H. Saville would not tell it to any but himself, and therefore did go presently to the Duke of Buckingham, and told him that his uncle Coventry was a person of honour, and was sensible of his Grace's liberty taken of abusing him, and that he had a desire of satisfaction, and would fight with him.

¹ The duel: see 17th Jan., 1667-8, *ante*.

But that here they were interrupted by my Lord Chamberlain's coming in, who was commanded to go to bid the Duke of Buckingham to come to the King, Holmes having discovered it. He told me that the King did last night, at the Council, ask the Duke of Buckingham, upon his honour, whether he had received any challenge from W. Coventry? which he confessed that he had; and then the King asking W. Coventry, he told him that he did not owne what the Duke of Buckingham had said, though it was not fit for him to give him a direct contradiction. But, being by the King put upon declaring the truth upon his honour, he answered that he had understood that many hard questions had upon this business been moved to some lawyers, and that therefore he was unwilling to declare any thing that might, from his own mouth, render him obnoxious to his Majesty's displeasure, and, therefore, prayed to be excused: which the King did think fit to interpret to be a confession, and so gave warrant that night for his commitment to the Tower. Being very much troubled at this, I away by coach homewards, and directly to the Tower, where I find him in one Mr. Bennet's house, son to Major Bayly, one of the Officers of the Ordnance, in the Bricke Tower:¹ where I find him busy with my Lord Halifax and his brother; so I would not stay to interrupt them, but only to give him comfort, and offer my service to him, which he kindly and

¹ "The Brick Tower, by the Armory, the Master of the Ordnance' lodging;" so described in a paper of the 16th March, 1641.

cheerfully received, only owning his being troubled for the King his master's displeasure, which, I suppose, is the ordinary form and will of persons in this condition. And so I parted, with great content, that I had so early seen him there ; and so going out, did meet Sir Jer. Smith going to meet me, who had newly been with Sir W. Coventry. And so he and I by water to Redriffe, and so walked to Deptford, where I have not been, I think, these twelve months : and there to the Treasurer's house,¹ where the Duke of York is, and his Duchess ; and there we find them at dinner in the great room, unhung ; and there was with them my Lady Duchess of Monmouth, the Countess of Falmouth, Castlemaine, Henrietta Hide² (my Lady Hinchingbroke's sister), and my Lady Peterborough. And after dinner Sir Jer. Smith and I were invited down to dinner with some of the Maids of Honour, namely, Mrs. Ogle,³ Blake,⁴ and Howard,⁵ which did

¹ See it marked in the Plan of Deptford, in Evelyn's "Diary," vol. i., p. 328, 4to edit., 1819.

² Henrietta, fifth daughter to the Earl of Burlington, married Laurence Hyde, afterwards created Earl of Rochester.

³ Anne Ogle, daughter of Thomas Ogle, of Pinchbeck, in Lincolnshire. She was afterwards the first wife of Craven Howard (son of Mrs. Howard), brother of her fellow maid of honour (see Evelyn's "Diary," 15th June, 1675). Her only child, Anne, died unmarried.

⁴ Margaret Blagge, or Blague, daughter of Colonel Blague, and afterwards wife of Sidney Godolphin. Her life, written by Evelyn, needs only to be mentioned here.

⁵ Dorothy, the elder daughter of Mrs. Howard. She afterwards married Col. James Graham, of Levens, Keeper of the Privy Purse of the Duke of York. Their daughter, Katharine Graham, married her cousin, Henry Bowes Howard, fourth Earl of Berkshire, and eleventh Earl of Suffolk.

me good to have the honour to dine with, and look on them; and the Mother of the Maids,¹ and Mrs. Howard,² the mother of the Maid of Honour of that name, and the Duke's housekeeper here. Here was also Monsieur Blancfort,³ Sir Richard Powell,⁴ Colonel Villiers,⁵ Sir Jonathan Trelawny,⁶ and others. And here drank most excellent, and great variety, and plenty of wines, more than I have drank, at once, these seven years, but yet did me no great hurt. Having dined and very merry, and understanding by Blancfort how angry the Duke of York was, about

¹ The *mother of the maids* in the Court of Queen Katharine was Bridget, Lady Sanderson, daughter of Sir Edward Tyrrell, Knt., and wife of Sir William Sanderson, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. It is possible, however, that some one filled the like office in the household of the Duchess of York.

² Elizabeth, daughter of Lowthiel, Lord Dundas, wife of William Howard, fourth son of the first Earl of Berkshire. Her son, Craven Howard, married, first, Anne Ogle, mentioned above; and, secondly, Mary, daughter of George Bower, of Elford, in Staffordshire, by whom he had Henry Bowes Howard, who married Katharine Graham. It was by means of Mrs. Howard, who, as housekeeper to the Duke of York, resided in the Treasurer's house at Deptford, that Evelyn, who lived at Sayes Court, adjoining the Royal Yard, first became acquainted with Mrs. Godolphin, and it is to Lady Sylvius, the younger daughter of Mrs. Howard, that he addresses her *Life*.

³ See 3rd Feb., 1665; 13th June, 1666; 27th Aug. and 1st Sept., 1667. In 1677 he succeeded to the titles and estates of his father-in-law, Sir George Sondes, who, in April, 1676, was created Earl of Feversham and Viscount Sondes. As Earl of Feversham, Blancfort became of great importance during the short but eventful reign of James II. He died in 1709. *s. p.*

⁴ Sir Richard Powle, of Shottesbrooke, Berks, Master of the Horse to the Duchess of York.

⁵ Edward Villiers, Master of the Robes, and Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York. He was afterwards knighted, and is the direct ancestor of the Earls of Jersey.

⁶ The second baronet of his family, and father of the Bishop of Winchester, of the same names.

their offering to send Saville to the Gate-house, among the rogues ; and then, observing how this company, both the ladies and all, are of a gang, and did drink a health to the union of the two brothers, and talking of others as their enemies, they parted, and so we up ; and there I did find the Duke of York and Duchess, with all the great ladies, sitting upon a carpet, on the ground, there being no chairs, playing at " I love my love with an A, because he is so and so : and I hate him with an A, because of this and that : " and some of them, but particularly the Duchess herself, and my Lady Castlemaine, were very witty. This done, they took barge, and I with Sir J. Smith to Captain Cox's ; and there to talk, and left them and other company to drink ; while I slunk out to Bagwell's ; and there saw her, and her mother, and our late maid Nell, who cried for joy to see me. So to Cox's, and thence walked with Sir J. Smith back to Redriffe ; and so, by water home, and there my wife mighty angry for my absence, and fell mightily out, but not being certain of any thing, but thinks only that Pierce or Knipp was there, and did ask me, and, I perceive, the boy, many questions. But I did answer her ; and so, after much ado, did go to bed, and lie quiet all night ; but she had another bout with me in the morning, but I did make shift to quiet her, but yet she was not fully satisfied, poor wretch ! in her mind, and thinks much of my taking so much pleasure without her ; which, indeed, is a fault, though I did not design or foresee it when I went.

5th. After dinner I to the Tower, where I find Sir W. Coventry with abundance of company with him : and after sitting awhile, and hearing some merry discourse, and, among others, of Mr. Brouncker's being this day summoned to Sir William Morton,¹ one of the Judges, to give in security for his good behaviour, upon his words the other day to Sir John Morton,² a Parliament-man, at White Hall, who had heretofore spoke very highly against Brouncker in the House, I away, and to Aldgate. Walked forward towards White Chapel, till my wife overtook me with the coach, it being a mighty fine afternoon ; and there we went the first time out of town with our coach and horses, and went as far as Bow, the spring beginning a little now to appear, though the way be dirty ; and so, with great pleasure, with the fore-part of our coach up, we spent the afternoon. And so in the evening home, and there busy at the Office awhile, and so to bed, mightily pleased with being at peace with my poor wife, and with the pleasure we may hope to have with our coach this summer, when the weather comes to be good.

6th. Before the Office, I stepped to Sir W. Coventry at the Tower, and there had a great deal of discourse with him ; among others, of the King's putting him out of the Council yesterday, with which he is well

¹ Made a Justice of the King's Bench, 1665. Ob 1672.

² Sir John Morton, of Milborn St Andrew, Dorset, the second baronet of his family, then serving as burgess for Poole, and afterwards for Melcombe Regis. He died in 1698: æt. 71. — *M. I.*

contented, as with what else they can strip him of, he telling me, and so hath long done, that he is weary and surfeited of business ; but he joins with me in his fears that all will go to naught, as matters are now managed. He told me the matter of the play that was intended for his abuse, wherein they foolishly and sillily bring in two tables like that which he hath made, with a round hole in the middle, in his closet, to turn himself in ;¹ and he is to be in one of them as master, and Sir J. Duncomb in the other, as his man or imitator : and their discourse in those tables, about the disposing of their books and papers, very foolish. But that, that he is offended with, is his being made so contemptible, as that any should dare to make a gentleman a subject for the mirth of the world : and that therefore he had told Tom Killigrew that he should tell his actors, whoever they were, that did offer at any thing like representing him, that he would not complain to my Lord Chamberlain, which was too weak, nor get him beaten, as Sir Charles Sedley is said to have done, but that he will cause his nose to be cut.² He told me how that the Duke of Buckingham did himself, some time since, desire to join with him,

¹ See "Diary," 4th July, 1668, where Sir W. Coventry's round table is described.

² It is painful to find a person of Sir William Coventry's rank and station entertaining so cowardly a mode of revenging himself; and it is very remarkable that, in little more than a year afterwards, his own nephew, Sir John Coventry, was maimed in the very same way, his nose having been slit to the bone by a party of assassins hired for the purpose: see note to 27th July, 1667.

of all men in England, and did bid him propound to himself to be Chief Minister of State, saying that he would bring it about, but that he refused to have anything to do with any faction; and that the Duke of Buckingham did, within these few days, say that, of all men in England, he would have chosen Sir W. Coventry to have joined entire with. He tells me that he fears their prevailing against the Duke of York; and that their violence will force them to it, as being already beyond his pardon. He repeated to me many examples of challenging Privy-Councillors and others; but never any proceeded against with that severity which he is, it never amounting with others to more than a little confinement. He tells me of his being weary of the Treasury, and of the folly, ambition, and desire of popularity of Sir Thomas Clifford: and yet the rudeness of his tongue and passions when angry. This day my wife made it appear to me that my late entertainment this week cost me above 12*l.*, an expence which I am almost ashamed of, though it is but once in a great while, and is the end for which, in the most part, we live, to have such a merry day once or twice in a man's life.

7th (Lord's day). To church, where a dull sermon, and so home to dinner, all alone with my wife, and then to even my Journall to this day, and then to the Tower, to see Sir W. Coventry, who had H. Jermin and a great many more with him, and more, while I was there, came in; so that I do hear that there was not less than sixty coaches there yesterday, and the

other day ; which I hear also that there is a great exception taken at, by the King and the Duke of Buckingham, but it cannot be helped. To Suffolk Street, to see my cozen Pepys, but neither the old nor young at home. I to White Hall, and there hear that there are letters come from Sir Thomas Allen, that he hath made some kind of peace with Algiers ; upon which the King and Duke of York, being to go out of town to-morrow, are met at my Lord Arlington's : so I there, and by Mr. Wren was desired to stay to see if there were occasion for their speaking with me, which I did, walking without, with Charles Porter,¹ talking of a

¹ “ Charles Porter was the son of a prebendary in Norwich, and a 'prentice boy in the city in the rebellious times. When the committee house was blown up, he was very active in that rising, and after the soldiers came and dispersed the rout, he, as a rat among joint stools, shifted to and fro among the shambles, and had forty pistols shot at him by the troopers that rode after him to kill him. In that distress he had the presence of mind to catch up a little child that, during the rout, was frightened, and stood crying in the streets, and, unobserved by the troopers, ran away with it. The people opened a way for him, saying, ‘ Make room for the poor child.’ Thus he got off, and while search was made for him in the market-place, got into a Yarmouth ferry, took ship and went to Holland. Here he trailed a pike, and was in several actions as a common soldier. At length he kept a cavalier eating-house; but, his customers being needy, he soon broke, and came for England, and being a genteel youth, was taken in among the chancery clerks. and got to be under a master. His industry was great; and he had an acquired dexterity and skill in the forms of court; and although he was a bon companion, and followed much the bottle, yet he made such dispatches as satisfied his clients, especially the clerks, who knew where to find him. His person was florid, and speech prompt and articulate. But his vices, in the way of women and the bottle, were so ungoverned, as brought him to a morsel. At the Revolution, when his interest fell from, and his debts began to fall upon him, he was at his wits' end. And some, knowing his case, and pitying him (for he was, indeed a very honest fellow), recommended him as a man fit to be Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and, accordingly, he was knighted, and sent over.

great many things: and I perceive all the world is against the Duke of Buckingham's acting thus high, and do prophesy nothing but ruin from it. But he do well observe that the church lands cannot certainly come to much, if the King shall be persuaded to take them, they being leased out for long leases. By and by, after two hours' stay, the Council rose, having, as Wren tells me, resolved upon sending six ships to the Streights forthwith, not being contented with the peace upon the terms they demand; which are, that all our ships, where any Turks or Moores shall be found slaves, shall be prizes; which will imply that they must be searched. I hear that to-morrow the King and the Duke of York set out for Newmarket, by three in the morning, to some foot and horse-races, to be abroad ten or twelve days. So I away, without seeing the Duke of York; but Mr. Wren showed me the Order of Council about the balancing the Storekeeper's accounts, which passed the Council in the very terms I drew it, only I did put in my name as he that presented the book of Hosier's preparing, and that is left out — I mean, my name — which is no great matter.

8th. To White Hall, from whence the King and the Duke of York went by three in the morning, and had the misfortune to be overset with the Duke of York, the Duke of Monmouth, and the Prince,¹ at the

There he lived some years, and in that place concluded his days little better than an insolvent. His character for fidelity, loyalty, and facetious conversation, was remarkable." — ROGER NORTH'S *Lives of the Hon. Francis North, &c*

¹ Rupert.

King's Gate¹ in Holborne; and the King all dirty, but no hurt. How it came to pass I know not, but only it was dark, and the torches did not, they say, light the coach as they should do. I thought this morning to have seen my Lord Sandwich before he went out of town, but I came half an hour too late; which troubles me, I having not seen him since my Lady Pall² died. W. Hewer and I to the Harp-and-Ball, to drink my morning draught; and there met with King, the Parliament-man, with whom I had some impertinent talk. And so to the Privy Seal Office, to examine what records I could find there, for my help in the great business I am put upon, of defending the present constitution of the Navy; but there could not have liberty without order from him that is in present waiting, Mr. Bickerstaffe, who is out of town. Met Mr. Moore, and I find him the same discontented poor man as ever. He tells me that Mr. Shepley is upon being turned away from my Lord's family, and another sent down, which I am sorry for; but his age and good fellowship have almost made him fit for nothing. With my wife to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Mocke Astrologer," which I have often seen, and but an ordinary play; and so to my cozen Turner's, where

¹ Kingsgate Street stands to the south-east of Bloomsbury Square. In the reign of James I. it was a mere country lane, with a barred gate at its entrance, which, from that monarch's usually passing through it, on his way to Theobalds, received the denomination of King's Gate. Theobald's Road, to which the street leads, takes its name from the same cause.

² Paulina Montagu: see 1st March, *ante*.

we met Roger Pepys, his wife, and two daughters, and then home. There my wife to read to me, my eyes being sensibly hurt by the too great lights of the playhouse.

9th. Up, and to the Tower ; and there find Sir W. Coventry alone, writing down his Journal, which, he tells me, he now keeps of the material things ; upon which I told him, and he is the only man I ever told it to, I think, that I kept it most strictly these eight or ten years ; and I am sorry almost that I told it him, it not being necessary, nor may be convenient, to have it known. Here he showed me the petition he had sent to the King by my Lord Keeper, which was not to desire any admittance to employment, but submitting himself therein humbly to his Majesty ; but prayed the removal of his displeasure, and that he might be set free. He tells me that my Lord Keeper did acquaint the King with the substance of it, not showing him the petition ; who answered, that he was disposing of his employments, and when that was done, he might be led to discharge him : and this is what he expects, and what he seems to desire. But by this discourse he was pleased to take occasion to show me and read to me his account, which he hath kept by him under his own hand, of all his discourse, and the King's answers to him, upon the great business of my Lord Clarendon, and how he had first moved the Duke of York with it twice, at good distance, one after another, but without success ; showing me thereby the simplicity and reasons of his so

doing, and the manner of it ; and the King's accepting it, telling him that he was not satisfied in his management, and did discover some dissatisfaction against him for his opposing the laying aside of my Lord Treasurer, at Oxford, which was a secret the King had not discovered. And really I was mighty proud to be privy to this great transaction, it giving me great conviction of the noble nature and ends of Sir W. Coventry in it, and considerations in general of the consequences of great men's actions, and the uncertainty of their estates, and other very serious considerations. To the Office, where we sat all the morning, and after dinner by coach to my cozen Turner's, thinking to have taken the young ladies to a play ; but The. was let blood to-day ; and so my wife and I towards the King's playhouse, and by the way found Betty Turner, and Bab., and Betty Pepys staying for us ; and so took them all to see "Claricilla," which do not please me almost at all, though there are some good things in it. And so to my cozen Turner's again, and there find my Lady Mordaunt, and her sister Johnson ;¹ and by and by comes in a gentleman, Mr. Overbury, a pleasant man, who plays most excellently on the flagelette, a little one, that sounded as low as one of mine, and mighty pretty. Hence with my wife, and Bab., and Betty Pepys, and W. Hewer, whom I carried all this day with me, to my cozen Stradwick's, where I have not been ever since my brother Tom died, there being some difference between my

¹ Her maiden sister: see note to 11th Dec., 1666.

father and them, upon the account of my cozen Scott ; and I was glad of this opportunity of seeing them, they being good and substantial people, and kind. Here met my cozen Roger and his wife, and my cozen Turner, and here, which I never did before, I drank a glass, of a pint, I believe, at one draught, of the juice of oranges, of whose peel they make comfits ; and here they drink the juice as wine, with sugar, and it is very fine drink ; but, it being new, I was doubtful whether it might not do me hurt. Having staid awhile, my wife and I back, with my cozen Turner, &c., to her house. There we took our leaves of my cozen Pepys, who goes with his wife and two daughters for Impington to-morrow. They are very good people, and people I love, and am much obliged to, and shall have great pleasure in their friendship, and particularly in hers, she being an understanding and good woman.

10th. By hackney-coach to Auditor Beale's Office, in Holborne, to look for records of the Navy, but he was out of the way, and so forced to go next to White Hall, to the Privy Seal ; and, after staying a little there, then to Westminster, where, at the Exchequer, I met with Mr. Newport and Major Halsey ; and, after doing a little business with Mr. Burges, we by water to White Hall, where I made a little stop : and so with them by coach to Temple Bar, where, at the Sugar Loaf,¹ we dined ; and there comes a companion

¹ Now a part of the back premises of Child's Bank. See Price's "*Ye Marygold*," p. 8. — [M. B.]

of theirs, Colonel Vernon, I think, they called him ; a merry good fellow, and one that was very plain in cursing the Duke of Buckingham, and discoursing of his designs to ruin us, and that ruin must follow his counsels, and that we are an undone people. To which the others concurred, but not so plain, but all vexed at Sir W. Coventry's being laid aside : but Vernon is concerned, I perceive, for my Lord Ormond's being laid aside ; but their company, being all old cavaliers, were very pleasant to hear how they swear and talk. But Halsey, to my content, tells me that my Lord Duke of Albemarle says that W. Coventry being gone, nothing will be well done at the Treasury, and I believe it ; but they do all talk as that Duncombe, upon some pretence or other, must follow him. Thence to the Privy Seale at White Hall, where, with W. Hewer and Mr. Gibson, I spent the afternoon till evening looking over the books there, and did find several things to my purpose, though few of those I designed to find, the books being kept there in no method at all. Having done there, we by water home, and there I find my cozen Turner and her two daughters come to see us ; and there, after talking a little, I had my coach ready, and they going home, my wife and I out to White Chapel to take a little ayre, though yet the dirtiness of the road do prevent most of the pleasure, which we hoped to have from this tour. So home, and my wife to read to me till supper, and to bed.

11th. Up, and to Sir W. Coventry, to the Tower : who tells me that he hears that the Commission is

gone down to the King, with a blank to fill, for his place in the Treasury : and he believes it will be filled with one of our Treasurers of the Navy, but which he knows not, but he believes it will be Osborne. We walked down to the Stone Walk, which is called, it seems, my Lord of Northumberland's walk,¹ being paved by some one of that title, that was prisoner there : and at the end of it, there is a piece of iron upon the wall, with his armes upon it, and holes to put in a peg, for every turn that they make upon that walk. So away to the Office, where busy all the morning, and so to dinner, and so very busy all the afternoon, at my Office, late ; and then home tired, to supper, with content with my wife, and so to bed, she pleasing me, though I dare not own it, that she hath hired a chambermaid ; but she, after many commendations, told me that she had one great fault, and that was, that she was very handsome, at which I made nothing, but let her go on ; but many times to-night she took occasion to discourse of her handsomeness, and the danger she was in by taking her, and that she did doubt yet whether it would be fit for her, to take her. But I did assure her of my resolution to have nothing to do with her maids, though in myself I was glad to have the content to have a handsome one to look on.

12th. Up, and abroad, with my own coach, to Aud-

¹ No trace of this is to be found in Bayley's "History of the Tower." Henry, the ninth Earl, called the Wizard Earl, was confined in the Tower from 1605 to 1621, and the walk was probably constructed for his use during that long imprisonment.

itor Beale's house, and thence with W. Hewer to his Office, and there with great content spent all the morning looking over the Navy accounts of several years, and the several patents of the Treasurers. About noon I ended there, to my great content, and giving the clerks there 20s. for their trouble, and having sent for W. Howe to discourse with him about the Patent Office records, wherein I remembered his brother to be concerned, I took him in my coach with W. Hewer and myself towards Westminster; and there he carried me to Nott's, the famous bookbinder, that bound for my Lord Chancellor's library; and here I did take occasion for curiosity to bespeak a book to be bound, only that I might have one of his binding. To Graye's Inne: and, at the next door, at a cook's-shop of Howe's acquaintance, we bespoke dinner, it being now two o'clock; and in the meantime he carried us into Graye's Inne, to his chamber, where I never was before; and it is very pretty, and little, and neat, as he was always. And so, after a little stay, and looking over a book or two there, we carried a piece of my Lord Coke¹ with us, and to our dinner, where, after dinner, he read at my desire a chapter in my Lord Coke about perjury, wherein I did learn a good deal touching oaths, and so away to the Patent Office,² in Chancery Lane, where his brother Jacke, being newly broke by running in debt, and growing an idle rogue, he is forced to hide himself; and W. Howe do look

¹ Coke's Institutes.

² The Rolls.

after the Office. Here I did set a clerk to look out some things for me in their books, while W. Hewer and I to the Crowne Office,¹ where we met with several good things that I most wanted, and did take short notes of the dockets, and so back to the Patent Office, and did the like there, and by candle-light ended. And so home, where, thinking to meet my wife with content, after my pains all this day, I find her in her closet, alone, in the dark, in a hot fit of railing against me, upon some news she has this day heard of Deb's living very fine, and with black spots, and speaking ill words of her mistress, which with good reason might vex her; and the baggage is to blame, but, God knows, I know nothing of her, nor what she do; but, what with my high words, and slighting, I did at last bring her to very good and kind terms, poor heart! and I was heartily glad of it, for I do see there is no man can be happier than myself, if I will, with her. But in her fit she did tell me what vexed me all the night, that this had put her upon putting off her handsome maid and hiring another that was full of the small pox, which did mightily vex me, though I said nothing, and do still. So down to supper, and she to read to me, and then with all possible kindness to bed.

13th. Up; and to the Tower, to see Sir W. Coventry, and with him talking of business of the Navy, all alone, an hour, he taking physic. And so away to the Office, where all the morning, and then home

¹ In the Temple, where it is still kept.

to dinner, with my people, and so to the Office again, and there all the afternoon till night, when comes, by mistake, my cozen Turner, and her two daughters, which love such freaks, to eat some anchovies and ham of bacon with me, instead of noon, at dinner, when I expected them. But, however, I had done my business before they come, and so was in good humour enough to be with them, and so home to them to supper, and pretty merry, being pleased to see Betty Turner, which hath something mighty pretty. But that which put me in good humour, both at noon and night, is the fancy that I am this day made a Captain of one of the King's ships, Mr. Wren having this day sent me the Duke of York's commission to be Captain of "The Jerzy," in order to my being of a Court-martiall for examining the loss of "The Defyance," and other things; which do give me occasion of much mirth, and may be of some use to me, at least I shall get a little money for the time I have it; it being designed that I must really be a Captain to be able to sit in this Court. They staid till about eight at night, and then away, and my wife to read to me, and then to bed in mighty good humour, but for my eyes.

14th (Lord's day). With my wife to church, where I did see my milliner's wife come again, which pleased me; but I durst not be seen to mind her for fear of my wife's seeing me, though the woman I did never speak twenty words to, and that but only in her husband's shop. But so fearful I am of discontenting my wife, or giving her cause of jealousy. But here we

heard a most excellent good sermon of Mr. Gifford's,¹ upon the righteousness of Scribes and Pharisees. So home, where W. Howe came and dined with me, and staid and read in my Lord Coke upon his chapter of perjury again, which pleased me; and then I to write down my Journall for the last week, my eyes being very bad, and therefore I forced to find a way to use by turns with my tube, one after another. This night I did tell Tom my resolution not to keep him after Jane was gone, but shall do well by him, which pleases him; and I think he will presently marry her, and go away out of my house with her.

15th. Up, and by water with W. Hewer to the Temple; and thence to the Rolls, where I made inquiry for several rolls, and was soon informed in the manner of it: and so spent the whole morning with W. Hewer, he taking little notes in short-hand, while I hired a clerk there to read to me about twelve or more several rolls which I did call for: and it was great pleasure to me to see the method wherein their rolls are kept; that when the Master of the Office, one Mr. Case, do call for them, who is a man that I have heretofore known by coming to my Lord of Sandwich's, he did most readily turn to them. At noon they shut up; and W. Hewer and I did walk to the Cocke,² at the end of Suffolke Street, where I never

¹ George Gifford, A.M., appointed, in 1661, rector of St Dunstan's in the East: ob. 1686. — NEWCOURT'S *Rep. Eccl.*

² There was another Cock ale-house in Fleet Street, still a tavern, described in Ackerman's "Tradesmen's Tokens," p. 84.

was, a great ordinary, mightily cried up, and there bespoke a pullett ; which while dressing, he and I walked into St. James's Park, and thence back, and dined very handsome, with a good soup, and a pullet, for 4*s.* 6*d.* the whole. Thence back to the Rolls, and did a little more business : and so by water to White Hall, whither I went to speak with Mr. Williamson, that if he hath any papers relating to the Navy I might see them, which he promises me : and so by water home, with great content for what I have this day found, having got almost as much as I desire of the history of the Navy, from 1618 to 1642, when the King and Parliament fell out.

16th. Visited Sir W. Coventry at the Tower, and walked with him upon the Stone Walk, alone, till other company came to him, and had very good discourse with him. My wife and Jane gone abroad, and Tom, in order to their buying of things for their wedding, which, upon my discourse last night, is now resolved to be done, upon the 26th of this month, the day of my solemnity for my cutting of the stone, when my cozen Turner must be with us. My wife, therefore, not at dinner ; and comes to me Mr. Evelyn of Deptford, a worthy good man, and dined with me, but a bad dinner ; who is grieved for, and speaks openly to me his thoughts of, the times, and our ruin approaching ; and all by the folly of the King. His business to me was about some ground of his, at Deptford,¹

¹ See note, March 4th, *ante*.

next to the King's yard : and after dinner we parted To Woolwich, where I saw, but did not go on board, my ship "The Jerzy," she lying at the wharf under repair. But my business was to speak with Ackworth, about some old things and passages in the Navy, for my information therein, in order to my great business now of stating the history of the Navy. This I did ; and upon the whole do find that the late times, in all their management, were not more husbandly than we ; and other things of good content to me. Thence to Greenwich by water, and there landed at the King's house,¹ which goes on slow, but is very pretty. I to the Park, there to see the prospect of the hill, to judge of Dancre's picture, which he hath made thereof for me : and I do like it very well : and it is a very pretty place. Thence to Deptford, but staid not, Unthwayte being out of the way : and so home, and then to the King's Tavern, Morrice's, and staid till W. Hewer fetched his uncle Blackburne by appointment to me, to discourse of the business of the Navy in the late times ; and he did do it, by giving me a most exact account in writing, of the several turns in the Admiralty and Navy, and of the persons employed therein, from the beginning of the King's leaving the Parliament, to his Son's coming in, to my great content ;

¹ The old palace at Greenwich had just been pulled down, and a new building commenced by Charles II., only one wing of which was completed, at the expense of 36,000*l.*, under the auspices of Webb, Inigo Jones's kinsman and executor. In 1694 the unfinished edifice was granted by William and Mary to trustees, for the use and service of a Naval Hospital; and it has been repeatedly enlarged and improved, till it has arrived at its present splendour.

and now I am fully informed in all I at present desire. We fell to other talk ; and I find by him that the Bishops must certainly fall, and their hierarchy ; these people ¹ have got so much ground upon the King and kingdom as is not to be got again from them : and the Bishops do well deserve it. But it is all the talk, I find, that Dr. Wilkins, my friend, the Bishop of Chester, shall be removed to Winchester, and be Lord Treasurer.² Though this be foolish talk, yet I do gather that he is a mighty rising man, as being a Latitudinarian, and the Duke of Buckingham his great friend.

17th. Up, and by water to see Mr. Wren, and then Mr. Williamson, who did shew me the very original bookes of propositions made by the Commissioners for the Navy, in 1618, to my great content ; but no other Navy papers he could now shew me. Home, and took my wife by a hackney to the King's play-house, and saw "The Coxcomb,"³ the first time acted, but an old play, and a silly one, being acted only by the young people.

18th. Up, and to see Sir W. Coventry, and walked with him a good while in the Stone Walk : and brave discourse about my Lord Chancellor, and his ill managements and mistakes, and several things of the Navy. Home to dinner, where my wife mighty finely

¹ The anti-church party.

² The report could hardly have been believed, considering the Bishop's connection with Oliver Cromwell.

³ A comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

dressed, by a maid that she hath taken, and is to come to her when Jane goes ; and the same she the other day told me of, to be so handsome. I therefore longed to see her, but did not till after dinner, that my wife and I going by coach, she went with us to Holborne, where we set her down. She is a mighty proper maid, and pretty comely, but so so ; but hath a most pleasing tone of voice, and speaks handsomely, but hath most great hands, and I believe ugly ; but very well dressed, and good clothes, and the maid I believe will please me well enough. Thence to visit Ned Pickering and his lady, and Creed and his wife, but the former abroad, and the latter out of town, gone to my Lady Pickering's in Northamptonshire, upon occasion of the late death of their brother, Oliver Pickering, a youth, that is dead of the smallpox. So my wife and I to Dancre's to see the pictures ; and thence to Hyde Park, the first time we were there this year, or ever in our own coach, where with mighty pride rode up and down, and many coaches there ; and I thought our horses and coach as pretty as any there, and observed so to be by others.¹ Here staid till night, and so home.

19th. Sir Thomas Clifford did speak to me, as desirous that I would some time come and confer with him about the Navy, which I am glad of, but will take the direction of the Duke of York before I do it, though I would be glad to do something to secure

¹ See 29th Nov., *ante*.

myself, if I could, in my employment. Thence to the plaisterer's, and took my face, and my Lord Duke of Albemarle's, home with me by coach, they being done to my mind ; and mighty glad I am of understanding this way of having the pictures of any friends. After dinner, with Commissioner Middleton and Kempthorne¹ to a Court-martiall, to which, by virtue of my late Captainship, I am called, the first I was ever at ; where many Commanders, and Kempthorne president. Here was tried a difference between Sir L. Van Hemskirke,² the Dutch Captain who commands "The Nonsuch," built by his direction, and his Lieutenant ; a drunken kind of silly business. We ordered the Lieutenant to ask him pardon, and have resolved to lay before the Duke of York what concerns the Captain, which was striking of his Lieutenant and challenging him to fight, which comes not within any article of the laws martiall. But upon discourse the other day with Sir W. Coventry, I did advise Middleton, and he and I did forbear to give judgment, but after the debate did withdraw into another cabin, the Court being held in one of the yachts, which was on purpose brought up over against St. Katharine's, it being to be feared that this precedent of our being made Captains, in order to the trying of the loss of "The Defyance," wherein we are the proper persons to enquire into the want of instructions while ships do lie in harbour,

¹ Sir John Kempthorne, a Commissioner of the Navy under Charles II., and Admiral of a fleet in the Narrow Seas, 1677-8. — PEPYS'S *Signs Manual*.

² See 22nd April, and 13th May, 1668, *ante*.

might be hereafter made of evil use, by putting the Duke of Buckingham, or any of these rude fellows that now are uppermost, to make packed Courts, by Captains made on purpose to serve their turns. The other cause was of the loss of "The Providence" at Tangier, where the Captain's being by chance on shore may prove very inconvenient to him, for example's sake, though the man be a good man, and one whom, for Norwood's sake, I would be kind to; but I will not offer any thing to the excusing such a miscarriage. He is at present confined, till he can bring better proofs on his behalf of the reasons of his being on shore. So Middleton and I away to the Office; and there I late busy, making my people, as I have done lately, to read Mr. Holland's¹ Discourse of the Navy, and what other things I can get to inform me fully in all; and here late, about eight at night, comes Mr. Wren to me, who had been at the Tower to visit Sir W. Coventry. He came only to see how matters go, and tells me, as a secret, that last night the Duke of York's closet was broken open, and his cabinets, and shut again, one of them: that the rogue that did it hath left plate and a watch behind him, and therefore

¹ John Holland, paymaster to the Treasurer of the Navy, mentioned before (see vol. i., 30th Nov., 1660). A copy of this work, which has never been printed, is amongst Sir Hans Sloane's MSS., and another, in connection with papers relative to the Navy, formerly belonging to Sir George Duckett, both in the British Museum. In the Pepysian Collection, No. 113, are Two Discourses of Mr. Holland's touching the Government of the Navy; one under the Earl of Northumberland in 1638, probably perused by Pepys, 14th Feb., *ante*, and 18th April, *post*; the other during the Rebellion, 1659, 2 vols., fol.

they fear that it was only for papers, which looks like a very malicious business in design, to hurt the Duke of York; but they cannot know the truth, till the Duke of York comes to town about the papers, and therefore make no words of it. He gone, I to work again, and then to supper at home, and to bed.

20th. Up, and to the Tower, to Sir W. Coventry, and there walked with him alone, on the Stone Walk, till company came to him; and there about the business of the Navy discoursed with him, and about my Lord Chancellor and Treasurer; that they were against the war with the Dutch at first, declaring, as wise men and statesmen, at first to the King, that they thought it fit to have a war with them at some time or other, but that it ought not to be till we found the Crowns of Spain and France together by the eares, the want of which did ruin our war. But then he told me that, a great while before the war, my Lord Chancellor did speak of a war with some heat, as a thing to be desired, and did it upon a belief that he could with his speeches make the Parliament give what money he pleased, and do what he would, or would make the King desire; but he found himself soon deceived of the Parliament, they having a long time before his removal been cloyed with his speeches and good words, and were come to hate him. Sir W. Coventry did tell me it, as the wisest thing that ever was said to the King by any statesman of his time, and it was by my Lord Treasurer that is dead, whom, I find, he takes for a very great statesman — that when the

King did show himself forward for passing the Act of Indemnity, he did advise the King that he would hold his hand in doing it, till he had got his power restored, that had been diminished by the late times, and his revenue settled in such a manner as he might depend on himself, without resting upon Parliaments, and then pass it. But my Lord Chancellor, who thought he could have the command of Parliament for ever, because for the King's sake they were awhile willing to grant all the King desired, did press for its being done: and so it was, and the King from that time able to do nothing with the Parliament almost. Mightily pleased with the news brought me to-night, that the King and Duke of York are come back this afternoon, and no sooner come, but a warrant was sent to the Tower for the releasing Sir W. Coventry; which do put me in some hopes that there may be, in this absence, some accommodation made between the Duke of York and the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington.

21st (Lord's day). By water over to Southwarke; and then, not getting a boat, I forced to walk to Stangate;¹ and so over to White Hall, in a scull; where to the Duke of York's dressing-room, and there met Harry Saville, and do understand that Sir W. Coventry is come to his house last night. I understand by Mr. Wren that his friends having, by Secretary Trevor and my Lord Keeper, applied to the King,

¹ Near Lambeth.

upon his first coming home, and a promise made that he should be discharged this day, my Lord Arlington did anticipate them, by sending a warrant presently for his discharge, which looks a little like kindness, or a desire of it; which God send! though I fear the contrary: however, my heart is glad that he is out. Thence up and down the House. Met Mr. May,¹ who tells me the story of his being put by Sir John Denham's place, of Surveyor of the King's Works, who, it seems, is lately dead, by the unkindness of the Duke of Buckingham, who hath brought in Dr. Wren:² though, he tells me, he hath been his servant for twenty years together, in all his wants and dangers, saving him from want of bread by his care and management, and with a promise of having his help in his advancement, and an engagement under his hand for 1,000*l.* not yet paid, and yet the Duke of Buckingham is so ungrateful as to put him by: which is an ill thing, though Dr. Wren is a worthy man. But he tells me that the King is kind to him, and hath promised him a pension of 300*l.* a-year out of the Works; which will be of more content to him than the place, which, under their present wants of money, is a place that disobliges most people, being not able to do what they desire to their lodgings. Here meeting with Sir H. Cholmly and Povy, they tell me that my Lord Middleton is resolved in the Cabal that he shall not go to Tangier; and that Sir Edward Harlow [Harley],³

¹ Hugh May.² Sir Christopher.³ See 18th May, 1660.

whom I know not, is propounded to go, who was Governor of Dunkirke, and, they say, a most worthy brave man, which I shall be very glad of. W. Howe comes to dine with me ; and after dinner propounds to me my lending him 500*l.*, to help him to purchase a place—the Master of the Patent Office, of Sir Richard Piggott. I did give him a civil answer, but shall think twice of it ; and the more, because of the changes we are like to have in the Navy, which will not make it fit for me to divide the little I have left more than I have done, God knowing what my condition is, I having not attended, and now not being able to examine what my state is, of my accounts, and being in the world, which troubles me mightily. News lately come of the Algerines taking 13,000*l.* in money, out of one of our Company's East India ships, outward bound, which will certainly make the war last ; which I am sorry for, being so poor as we are, and broken in pieces. Pelling comes to see and sup with us, and I find that he is assisting my wife in getting a licence to our young people¹ to be married this Lent,² which is resolved shall be done upon Friday next, my great day, or feast, for my being cut of the stone.

22nd. Up, and by water, with W. Hewer, to White Hall, there to attend the Lords of the Treasury ; but,

¹ His servants.

² Although marriages during Lent have always been considered unseemly, it is a vulgar error to suppose that a licence is required to solemnize them at that season. See Johnson's "*Clergyman's Vade-Mecum*," vol. i. p. 167.

before they sat, I did make a step to see Sir W. Coventry at his house, where, I bless God ! he is come again ; but in my way I met him, and so he took me into his coach and carried me to White Hall, and there set me down where he ought not—at least, he hath not yet leave to come, nor hath thought fit yet to ask it, hearing that Henry Saville is not only denied to kiss the King's hand, but the King, being asked it by the Duke of York, did deny it, and directed that the Duke shall not receive him, to wait upon him in his chamber, till further orders. Sir W. Coventry told me that he was going to visit Sir John Trevor, who hath been kind to him ; and he showed me a long list of all his friends that he must this week make visits to, that came to visit him in the Tower ; and seems mighty well satisfied with his being out of business, but I hope he will not long be so ; at least, I do believe that all must go to rack, if the King do not come to see the want of such a servant. Thence to the Treasury-Chamber, and there all the morning, to my great grief, put to do Sir G. Downing's work of dividing the Customes for this year, between the Navy, the Ordnance, and Tangier : but it did so trouble my eyes, that I had rather have given 20*l.* than have had it to do ; but I did thereby oblige Sir Thomas Clifford and Sir J. Duncombe, and so am glad of the opportunity to recommend myself to the former, for the latter I need not, he loving me well already. At it till noon, here being several of my brethren with me, but doing nothing, but I all. But

this day I did also represent to our Treasurers, which was read here, a state of the charge of the Navy, and what the expence of it this year would likely be ; which is done so as it will appear well done, and to my honour, for so the Lords did take it : and I oblige the Treasurers by doing it, at their request. With W. Hewer at noon to Unthanke's, where my wife stays for me ; and so to the Cocke, where there was no room, and thence to King Street, to several cook's shops, where nothing to be had ; and at last to the corner shop, going down Ivy Lane, by my Lord of Salisbury's,¹ and there got a good dinner, my wife, and W. Hewer, and I ; and after dinner she, with her coach, home ; and he and I to look over my papers for the East India Company, against the afternoon : which done, I with them to White Hall, and there to the Treasury-Chamber, where the East India Company and three Councillors pleaded against me alone, for three or four hours, till seven at night, before the Lords ; and the Lords did give me the conquest on behalf of the King, but could not come to any conclusion, the Company being stiff : and so I think we shall go to law with them. This done, and my eyes mighty bad with this day's work, I to Mr. Wren's, and then up to the Duke of York, and there with Mr. Wren did propound to him my going to Chatham to-morrow with Commissioner Middleton, and so this

¹ This house, long since pulled down, was built by Sir Robert Cecil, the first Earl of Salisbury, and called after his title. It stood in the Strand, on the site of Cecil Street. Ivy Bridge Lane was near the old mansion.

week to make the pay there, and examine the business of "The Defyance" being lost, and other businesses, which I did the rather, that I might be out of the way, at the wedding,¹ and be at a little liberty myself for a day or two, to find a little pleasure, and give my eyes a little ease. The Duke of York mightily satisfied with it; and so away home, where my wife troubled at my being so late abroad, poor woman! though never more busy, but I satisfied her; and so begun to put things in order for my journey to-morrow, and so, after supper, to bed.

23rd. I took coach with Commissioner Middleton, Captain Tinker, and Mr. Huchinson, and out towards Chatham, and dined at Dartford, where we staid an hour or two, it being a cold day; and so on, and got to Chatham just at night, with very good discourse by the way, but mostly of matters of religion, wherein Huchinson his vein lies. After supper, we fell to talk of spirits and apparitions, whereupon many pretty, particular stories were told, so as to make me almost afraid to lie alone, but for shame I could not help it; and so to bed; and, being sleepy, fell soon to rest, and so rested well.

24th. To the Hill-House, and there did give order for the coach to be made ready; and got Mr. Gibson, whom I carried with me, to go with me and Mr. Coney, the surgeon, towards Maydstone, which I had a mighty mind to see, and took occasion, in my way,

¹ See the day before.

at St. Margett's, to pretend to call to see Captain Allen, to see whether Mrs. Jewkes,¹ his daughter, was there ; and there his wife come to the door, he being at London, and, through a window, I spied Jewkes, but took no notice of her, but made excuse till night, and then promised to come and see Mrs. Allen again. A mighty cold and windy, but clear day ; and had the pleasure of seeing the Medway running, winding up and down mightily, and a very fine country ; and I went a little out of the way to have visited Sir John Bankes, but he at London ; but here I had a sight of his seat and house,² the outside, which is an old abbey just like Hinchinbroke, and as good at least, and mighty finely placed by the river ; and he keeps the grounds about it, and walls and the house, very handsome : I was mightily pleased with the sight of it. Thence to Maydstone, which I had a mighty mind to see, having never been there ; and walked all up and down the town, and up to the top of the steeple, and had a noble view, and then down again : and in the town did see an old man beating of flax, and did step into the barn and give him money, and saw that piece of husbandry which I never saw, and it is very pretty : in the street also I did buy and send to our inne, the Bell, a dish of fresh fish. And so, having walked all round the town, and found it very pretty, as most

¹ See 1st April, 1667.

² The Friary, in Aylesford parish, since the property of the Earls of Aylesford, whose ancestor, Heneage Finch, married the eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir John Bankes.

towns I ever saw, though not very big, and people of good fashion in it, we to our inne, and had a good dinner; and a barber came to me, and there trimmed me, that I might be clean against night, to go to Mrs. Allen. And so, staying till four o'clock, we set out, I alone in the coach going and coming: and in our way back, I 'light out of the way to see a Saxon monument,¹ as they say, of a King, which is of three stones standing upright, and a great round one lying on them, of great bigness, although not so big as those on Salisbury Plain; but certainly it is a thing of great antiquity, and I am mightily glad to see it; it is near to Aylesford, where Sir John Bankes lives. So homeward to Chatham, to Captain Allen's, and there 'light, and sent the coach and Gibson home, and I and Coney staid; and there comes to us Mrs. Jewkes, who is a very fine, proper lady, as most I know, and well dressed. Here was also a gentleman, one Major Manly,² and his wife, neighbours; and here we staid, and drank, and talked, and set Coney and him to play while Mrs. Jewkes and I to talk, and there had all our old stories up, and there I had the liberty to salute her often; and she mighty free in kindness to me;

¹ This is the ancient monument called Kit's Coty House, supposed to be the burial-place of Catigern, who fell in command of the Britons, in a sanguinary but successful conflict against the Saxons, under Hengist and Horsa. It stands on the Downs, about one mile north-east of Aylesford Church. See Stukeley's "*Itinerarium*," in which are two views of the monument, and Hasted's "*History of Kent*," vol. ii. p. 177.

² John Manley, M.P. for Bridport: he married Margaret, daughter of the unfortunate Isaak Dorislaus.

and had there been time, I might have carried her to Cobham, as she, upon my proposing it, was very willing to go. Here was a pretty cozen of hers come in to supper also, of a great fortune, daughter-in-law to this Manly, mighty pretty, but had now such a cold, she could not speak. Here staid till almost twelve at night, and then with a lanthorn from thence walked over the fields, as dark as pitch, and mighty cold, and snow, to Chatham, and Mr. Coney with great kindness with me ; and there all in bed before I came home, and so I presently to bed.

25th. Up, and by and by, about eight o'clock, came Rear-Admiral Kempthorne and seven Captains more, by the Duke of York's order, as we expected, to hold the Court-martiall about the loss of "The Defyance ;" and so presently we by boat to "The Charles," which lies over against Upnor Castle ; and there I did manage the business, the Duke of York having, by special order, directed them to take the assistance of Commissioner Middleton and me, forasmuch as there might be need of advice in what relates to the government of the ships in harbour. And so I did lay the law open to them, and rattle the Master-Attendants out of their wits almost ; and made the trial last till seven at night, not eating a bit all the day ; only when we had done examination, and I given my thoughts that the neglect of the Gunner of the ship was as great as I thought any neglect could be, which might by the law deserve death, but Commissioner Middleton did declare that he was against giving the sentence of

death, we withdrew, as not being of the Court, and so left them to do what they pleased : and, while they were debating it, the Boatswain of the ship did bring us out of the kettle a piece of hot salt beef, and some brown bread and brandy ; and there we did make a little meal, but so good as I never would desire to eat better meat while I live, only I would have cleaner dishes. By and by they had done, and called us down from the quarter-deck ; and there we find they do sentence that the Gunner of "The Defyance" should stand upon "The Charles" three hours with his fault writ upon his breast, and with a halter about his neck, and so be made incapable of any service. The truth is, the man do seem, and is, I believe, a good man ; but his neglect, in trusting a girl to carry fire into his cabin, is not to be pardoned. This being done, we took boat and home ; and there a good supper was ready for us, which should have been our dinner. The Captains, desirous to be at London, went away presently for Gravesend, to get thither by this night's tide ; and so we to supper, it having been a great snowy and mighty cold, foul day ; and so after supper to bed.

26th. Up, and with Middleton all the morning at the Docke, looking over the storehouses and Commissioner Pett's house, in order to Captain Cox's coming to live there in his stead, as Commissioner. But it is a mighty pretty house ; and pretty to see how every thing is said to be out of repair for this new man, though 10*l*. would put it into as good condition in

every thing as it ever was in, so free every body is of the King's money ! And so to dinner at the Hill-House ; and after dinner, till eight at night, close, Middleton and I, examining the business of Mr. Pett, about selling a boat, and we find him a very knave ; and some other quarrels of his, wherein, to justify himself, he hath made complaints of others. This being done, we to supper, and so to talk, Commissioner Middleton being mighty good company upon a journey, and so to bed, thinking how merry my people are at this time, putting Tom and Jane to bed, being to have been married this day, it being also my feast for my being cut of the stone, but how many years I do not remember, but I think it to be about ten or eleven.

27th. After drinking a little buttered ale, Huchinson and I took coach, and, exceedingly merry in talk, to Dartford : Middleton finding stories of his own life at Barbadoes, and up and down at Venice, and elsewhere, that are mighty pretty, and worth hearing ; and he is a strange good companion, and droll upon the road, more than ever I could have thought to have been in him. Took coach again, and got home about six at night, it being all the morning as cold, snowy, windy, and rainy day, as any in the whole winter past, but pretty clear in the afternoon. I find all well, but my wife abroad with Jane, who was married yesterday. By and by my wife comes, and there I hear how merry they were yesterday, and I am glad at it, they being married, it seems, very handsomely, at Islington ; and

dined at the old house, and lay in our blue chamber, with much company, and wonderful merry. The. Turner and Mary Batelier bridesmaids, and Talbot Pepys and W. Hewan bridesmen.

28th (Lord's day). To the Office with Tom, who looks mighty smug upon his marriage, as Jane also do, both of whom I did give joy, and so Tom and I at work at the Office all the morning, till dinner, and then dined, W. Batelier with us; and so after dinner to work again, and sent for Gibson, and kept him also till eight at night, doing much business. And so, that being done, and my Journal writ, my eyes being very bad, and every day worse and worse, I home: but I find it most certain that stronge drinks do make my eyes sore, as they have done heretofore always; for, when I was in the country, when my eyes were at the best, their stronge beere would make my eyes sore: so home to supper, and by and by to bed.

29th. Up, and by water to White Hall; and there to the Duke of York, to show myself, after my journey to Chatham, but did no business to-day with him: only after gone from him, I to Sir T. Clifford's; and there, after an hour's waiting, he being alone in his closet, I did speak with him, and give him the account he gave me to draw up, and he did like it very well: and then fell to talk of the business of the Navy: and giving me good words, did fall foul of the constitution of the Board, and then did discover his thoughts, that Sir J. Minnes was too old, and so was Colonel Middleton, and that my Lord

Brouncker did mind his mathematics too much. I did not give much encouragement to that of finding fault with my fellow-officers ; but did stand up for the constitution, and did say that what faults there were in our Office would be found not to arise from the constitution, but from the failures of the officers in whose hands it was. This he did seem to give good ear to ; but did give me of myself very good words, which pleased me well, though I shall not build upon them any thing. Thence home ; and after dinner by water with Tom down to Greenwich, he reading to me all the way, coming and going, my collections out of the Duke of York's old manuscript of the Navy, which I have bound up, and do please me mightily. At Greenwich I came to Captain Cocke's, where the house full of company, at the burial of James Temple, who, it seems, hath been dead these five days : here I had a very good ring, which I did give my wife as soon as I come home. I spent my time there walking in the garden, talking with James Pierce, who tells me that he is certain that the Duke of Buckingham had been with his wenches all the time that he was absent, which was all the last week, nobody knowing where he was. The great talk is of the King's being hot of late against Conventicles, and to see whether the Duke of Buckingham's being returned will turn the King, which will make him very popular : and some think it is his plot to make the King thus, to show his power in the making him change his mind. But Pierce did tell me that the King did certainly say, that he that took one

stone from the Church, did take two from his Crown. By and by the corpse came out ; and I, with Sir Richard Browne and Mr. Evelyn, in their coach to the church, where Mr. Plume preached. I, in the midst of the sermon, did go out, and walked all alone round to Deptford : and so to the King's Yard, and there my boat by order met me, and home. This day our new chamber-maid, that comes in the room of Jane, is come, Jane and Tom lying at their own lodging this night : the new maid's name is Matt, a proper and very comely maid. This day also our cook-maid Bridget went away, which I was sorry for ; but, just at her going, she was found to be a thief, and so I was the less troubled for it ; but now our whole house will, in a manner, be new, which, since Jane is gone, I am not at all sorry for, for that my late differences with my wife about poor Deb. will not be remembered. So to bed after supper, and to sleep with great content.

30th. Up, and to Sir W. Coventry, to see and discourse with him ; and he tells me that he hath lately been with my Lord Keeper, and had much discourse about the Navy ; and particularly he tells me that he finds they are divided touching me, and my Lord Brouncker ; some are for removing us, and some for keeping us. He told my Lord Keeper that it would cost the King 10,000*l.* before he hath made another as fit to serve him in the Navy as I am ; which, though I believe it is true, yet I am much pleased to have that character given me by Sir W. Coventry, whatever be the success of it. But I perceive they do think that

I know too much, and shall impose upon whomever shall come next, and therefore must be removed, though he tells me that Sir T. Clifford is inclined well enough to me, and Sir T. Osborne ; by what I have lately done, I suppose. This news do a little trouble me, but yet, when I consider it, it is but what I ought not to be much troubled for, considering my incapacity, in regard to my eyes, to continue long at this work. To the Office, where all the morning ; and Sir W. Pen, the first time that he hath been here since his being last sick, which, I think, is two or three months ; and I think will be the last that he will be here as one of the Board, he now inviting us all to dine with him, as a parting dinner, on Thursday next, which I am glad of, I am sure ; for he is a very villain.

31st. Up, and by water to Sir W. Coventry's, there to talk with him about business of the Navy, and received from him direction what to advise the Duke of York at this time, which was, to submit and give way to the King's naming a man or two, that the people about him have a mind should be brought into the Navy, and perhaps that may stop their fury in running further against the whole ; and this, he believes, will do it. After much discourse with him, I walked out with him into St. James's Park, where, being afraid to be seen with him, he having not leave yet to kiss the King's hand, but notice taken, as I hear, of all that go to him, I did make the pretence of my attending the Tangier Committee, to take my leave, though to serve him I should, I think, stick at nothing. At the

Committee, this morning, my Lord Middleton declares at last his being ready to go, as soon as ever money can be made ready to pay the garrison: and so I have orders to get money, but how soon I know not. Thence home, and there find Mr. Sheres, of whom I find my wife of late to talk with mightly kindness; and particularly he hath shewn himself to be a poet, and that she do mightily value him for. He did not stay to dine with us, but we to dinner; and then, in the afternoon, my wife being very well dressed by her new maid, we abroad, to make a visit to Mrs. Pickering; but she abroad again, and so we never yet saw her. Thence to Dancre's, and there saw our pictures which are in doing; and I did choose a view of Rome instead of Hampton Court; and mightily pleased I shall be in them. Here were Sir Charles Cotterell and his son bespeaking something; both ingenious men, I hear. Thence my wife and I to the Park; and pretty store of company; and so home with great content: and so ends the month, my mind in pretty good content for all things, but the designs on foot to bring alterations in the Office, which trouble me.

April 1st. Up, and with Colonel Middleton, at the desire of Rear-Admiral Kempthorne, the President, for our assisting them, to the Court-martiall on board a yacht in the River here, to try the business of the Purser's complaints, Baker against Trevanion, his Commander, of "The Dartmouth." But, Lord! to see what wretched doings there were among all the Commanders to ruin the Purser, and defend the Captain in

all his rogueries, be it to the prejudice of the King or Purser, no good man could bear ! I confess I was pretty high, which the young gentlemen Commanders did not like ; and Middleton did the same. But could not bring it to any issue this day, sitting till two o'clock ; and therefore we being sent for, went to Sir W. Pen's by invitation to dine ; where my wife was, and my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, and Sir J. Minnes and his niece ; and here a bad dinner, and little mirth, I being little pleased with my host. However, I made myself sociable ; and so, after dinner, my wife and I, with my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, who set us down at my cozen Turner's, and there we staid awhile and talked ; and particularly here we met with Dr. Ball, the Parson of the Temple, who did tell me a great many pretty stories about the manner of the Parsons being paid for their preaching at Paul's heretofore, and now, and the ground of the Lecture, and the names of the founders thereof, which were many, at some 5s., some 6s. per annum towards it : and had their names read in the pulpit every sermon among those holy persons that the Church do order a collect for, giving God thanks for.

2nd. Up, and by water to White Hall, and there with the Office attended the Duke of York, and so with W. Hewer to the Cocke, and there he and I dined alone with great content, he reading to me, for my memory sake, my late collections of the history of the Navy, that I might represent the same by and by to the Duke of York ; and so, after dinner, he and I to

White Hall, and there to the Duke of York's lodgings, whither he, by and by, by his appointment came : and alone with him an hour in his closet, telling him mine and Sir W. Coventry's advice touching the present posture of the Navy, as the Duke of Buckingham and the rest do now labour to make changes therein ; and that it were best for him to suffer the King to be satisfied with the bringing in of a man or two whom they desire. I did also give the Duke of York a short account of the history of the Navy, as to our Office, wherewith he was very well satisfied : but I do find that he is pretty stiff against their bringing in of men against his mind, as the Treasurers were, and particularly against Child's¹ coming in, because he is a merchant. After much discourse with him, we parted : and he to the Council, while I staid waiting for his telling me when I should be ready to give him a written account of the administration of the Navy, which caused me to wait the whole afternoon, till night. In the mean time, stepping to the Duchess of York's side to speak with Lady Peterborough, I did see the young Duchess,² a little child in hanging sleeves, dance most finely, so as almost to ravish me, her ears were so good : taught by a Frenchman that did heretofore teach the King, and all the King's children, and the Queen-Mother herself, who do still dance well. Thence to the council door, and Mr. Cheffinch took me into the back stairs, and there with his friend, Mr. Fowkes, for whom

¹ Afterwards Sir Josiah Child

² The Princess Mary, afterwards Queen of England.

he is very solicitous in some things depending in this Office, he did make me, with some others that he took in (among others, Alderman Backewell), eat a pickled herring, the largest I ever saw, and drink variety of wines till I was almost merry ; but I did keep in good tune ; and so, after the Council was up, I home ; and there find my wife not yet come from Deptford, where she hath been all this day to see her mother. This night I did bring home from the King's pottecary's, in White Hall, by Mr. Cooling's direction, a water that he says did him mighty good for his eyes. I pray God it may do me good ; but, by his description, his disease was the same as mine, and this do encourage me to use it.

3rd. Up, and to the Council of War again, with Middleton : but the proceedings of the Commanders so devilishly bad, and so professedly partial to the Captain, that I could endure it no longer, but took occasion to pretend business at the Office, and away, and Colonel Middleton with me, who was of the same mind, and resolved to declare our minds freely to the Duke of York about it.

4th (Lord's day). Up, and to church, where Alderman Backewell's wife, by my invitation with my head, came up with her mother, and sat with us, and after sermon I did walk with them home, and there left them, and home to dinner. After dinner with Sir J. Minnes and T. Middleton to White Hall, by appointment ; and at my Lord Arlington's the Office did attend the King and Cabal, to discourse of the further

quantity of victuals fit to be declared for,¹ which was 2,000 men for six months ; and so home without more ado or stay there, hearing no news but that Sir Thomas Allen is to be expected every hour at home with his fleete, or news of his being gone back to Algier. The Queen-Mother hath been of late mighty ill, and some fears of her death.

5th. With Creed walking in the garden, and talking about our Office, and Child's coming in to be a Commissioner ; and, being his friend, I did think he might do me a kindness to learn of him what the Duke of Buckingham and the faction do design touching me, and to instil good words concerning me, which he says, and I believe he will : and it is but necessary : for I have not a mind indeed at this time to be put out of my Office, if I can make any shift that is honourable to keep it ; but I will not do it by deserting the Duke of York. At noon by appointment comes Mr. Sheres, and he and I to Unthanke's, where my wife stays for us in our coach, and Betty Turner with her ; and we to the Mulberry Garden, where Sheres is to treat us with a Spanish Olio,² by a cook of his acquaintance that is there, that was with my Lord in Spain : and without any other company, he did do it, and mighty nobly ; and the Olio was indeed a very noble dish, such as I never saw better, or any more of. This, and the discourse he did give us of Spain, and

¹ The official expression still used.

² Olio, or Oglio, a savoury dish composed of a great variety of ingredients, as meat, herbs, &c.

description of the Escuriall, was a fine treat. So we left other good things, that would keep till night, for a collation ; and, with much content, took coach again, and went five or six miles towards Branford, where the Prince of 'Tusoany,¹ who comes into England only to spend money and see our country, comes into the town to-day, and is much expected ; and we met him, but the coach passing by apace, we could not see much of him, but he seems a very jolly and good comely man. By the way, we overtook Captain Ferrers upon his fine Spanish horse, and he is a fine horse indeed ; but not so good, I think, as I have seen some. He did ride by us most of the way, and with us to the Park, and there left us, where we passed the evening, and meeting The. Turner, Talbot, W. Batelier, and his sister, in a coach, we anon took them with us to the Mulberry Garden ; and there, after a walk, to supper upon what was left at noon ; and very good ; only Mr. Sheres being taken suddenly ill for a while, did spoil our mirth ; but by and by was well again, and we mighty merry : and so broke up, and left him at Char-

¹ Cosmo de' Medici, who succeeded his father Ferdinand in the Dukedom of Tuscany in 1670. Whilst he was in England, in 1669, the Prince caused a number of views of places and of scenery to be executed for him. A few of these have been engraved, on a reduced scale, for Mawman's 4to publication of Cosmo's Travels, in 1821, but those prints being very unsatisfactory, the facsimile copies of the original drawings now at Florence were purchased by the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville, and form part of the splendid library which he bequeathed, in 1846, to the British Museum. Readers will remember the use which Mr. Macaulay has made of them, that "scarce a hedgerow is to be seen, and numerous tracts, now rich with cultivation, appear as bare as Salisbury Plain."

ing Cross, and so calling only at my cozen Turner's, away home, mightily pleased with the day's work. This day come another new mayd, for a middle mayd, but her name I know not yet; and, for a cook-maid, we have, ever since Bridget went, used a blackmoore of Mr. Batelier's, Doll, who dresses our meat mighty well, and we mightily pleased with her.

6th. To Mr. Batelier's to dinner, where my cozen Turner and both her daughters, and Talbot Pepys and my wife, and a mighty fine dinner. They at dinner before I come; and, when I had dined, I away home, and thence to White Hall, where the Board waited on the Duke of York to discourse about the disposing of Sir Thomas Allen's fleete, which is newly come home to Portsmouth; and here Middleton and I did in plain terms acquaint him what we thought and had observed in the late Court-martiall, which the Duke did give ear to; and though he thinks not fit to revoke what is already done in this case by a Court-martiall, yet it shall bring forth some good laws in the behaviour of Captains to their under Officers for the time to come. Thence home, and after a while at the Office, came home my wife, who hath been at Batelier's late, and dancing with the company, at which I seemed a little troubled, not being sent for myself, but I was not much so, but went to bed well enough pleased.

7th. By coach to my cozen Turner's, and invited them to dine at the Cocke to-day, with my wife and me; and so to the Lords of the Treasury, where all

the morning, and settled matters to their liking about the assignments on the Customes, between the Navy Office and Victualler, and to that end spent most of the morning there with D. Gauden. I to the New Exchange to talk with Betty,¹ my little sempstress; and so to Mrs. Turner's, to call them to dinner, but my wife not come, I back again, and was overtaken by a porter, with a message from my wife that she was ill, and could not come to us: so I back again to Mrs. Turner's, and find them gone; and so back again to the Cocke, and there find Mrs. Turner, Betty, and Talbot Pepys, and they dined with myself, Sir D. Gauden and Gibson, and mighty merry, this house being famous for good meat, and particularly pease-porridge. After dinner broke up, and they away; and I to the Council-Chamber, and there heard the great complaint of the City, tried against the gentlemen of the Temple, for the late riot, as they would have it, when my Lord Mayor was there. But, upon hearing the whole business, the City was certainly to blame to charge them in this manner as with a riot: but the King and Council did forbear to determine any thing in it, till the other business of the title and privilege be decided, which is now under dispute at law between them, whether the Temple be within the liberty of the City or no.² But I was sorry to see the City so ill advised as to complain in a thing where their proofs were so weak. Thence to my cozen

¹ Betty Smith: see 11th Jan., 1668-9, *ante*.

² See 3rd March, 1668-9, *ante*.

Turner's, and thence with her and her daughters, and her sister Turner, I carrying Betty in my lap, to Talbot's chamber at the Temple, where, by agreement, the poor rogue had a pretty dish of anchovies and sweetmeats for them; and hither came Mr. Eden,¹ who was in his mistress's disfavour ever since the other night that he came in thither fuddled, when we were there. But I did make them friends by my buffoonery, and bringing up a way of spelling their names, and making Theophila spell Lamton, which she would have to be the name of Mr. Eden's mistress, and mighty merry we were till late. This day, I do hear that Betty Turner is to be left at school at Hackney, which I am mightily pleased with; for then I shall, now and then, see her. She is pretty, and a girl for that, and her relations, I love.

8th. Up, and to White Hall, to the King's side, to find Sir T. Clifford, where the Duke of York came and found me, which I was sorry for, for fear he should think I was making friends on that side. But I did put it off the best I could, my being there: and so, by and by, had opportunity alone to show Sir T. Clifford the fair account I had drawn up of the Customs, which he liked, and seemed mightily pleased with me; and so away to the Excise-Office, to do a little business there, and so to the Office, where all

¹ Robert Eden, of West Auckland, Durham, which county he represented in Parliament for many years, married the lady here alluded to, Margaret, daughter and heir of John Lambton. He is the direct ancestor of the Lords Auckland. He was created a Baronet 13th Nov., 1672, and died in 1720, his wife surviving till 1730.

the morning. With my wife by coach to Islington, to pay what we owe there, for the late dinner at Jane's wedding ; and so round by Kingsland and Hogsden home, pleased with my wife's singing with me, by the way. Going through Smithfield, I did see a coach run over a coachman's neck, and stand upon it, and yet the man rose up, and was well after it, which I thought a wonder.

9th. Up, and by water to White Hall, and there, with the Board, attended the Duke of York, and Sir Thomas Allen with us (who came to town yesterday) ; and it is resolved another fleete shall go to the Streights forthwith, and he command it. But his coming home is mighty hardly talked on by the merchants, for leaving their ships there to the mercy of the Turks ; but of this more in my White-Book. To the Excise-Office, and to several places ; among others, to Mr. Faythorne's, to have seen an instrument which he was said to have, for drawing perspectives, but he had it not : but here I did see his workhouse, and the best things of his doing he had by him.

10th. After dinner comes Mr. Seymour to visit me, a talking fellow : but I hear by him that Captain Trevanion do give it out everywhere, that I did over-rule the whole Court-martiall against him, so long as I was there ; and perhaps I may receive, at this time, some wrong by it : but I care not, for what I did was out of my desire to do justice.

11th (Easter day). Up, and to Church; where Alderman Backewell's wife, and mother, and boy, and another gentlewoman, did come, and sit in our pew; but no women of our own there, and so there was room enough. Our Parson made a dull sermon, and so home to dinner; and, after dinner, my wife and I by coach, and Balty with us, to Loton,¹ the landscape-drawer, a Dutchman, living in St. James's Market,² but there saw no good pictures. But by accident he did direct us to a painter that was then in the house with him, a Dutchman, newly come over, one Verelst,³ who took us to his lodging close by, and did show us a little flower-pot of his drawing, the finest thing that ever, I think, I saw in my life; the drops of dew hanging on the leaves, so as I was forced, again and again, to put my finger to it, to feel whether my eyes were deceived or no. He did ask 70*l.* for it: I had the vanity to bid him 20*l.*; but a better picture I never saw in my whole life; and it is worth going twenty miles to see it. Thence, leaving Balty there, I took my wife to St. James's, and there carried her to the Queen's Chapel, the first time I ever did it; and heard excellent musick, but not so good as by accident I did hear there yesterday, as I went through the Park from White Hall to see Sir W. Coventry,

¹ John Loten, a landscape painter, long established in London, where he died *circ.* 1688.

² See note to 1st April, 1666, *ante*.

³ Simon Verelst, a Dutch flower-painter, who practised his art with much success in England about this time.

which I have forgot to set down in my Journal yesterday. And going out of the Chapel, I did see the Prince of Tuscany¹ come out, a comely, black, fat man, in a mourning suit ; and my wife and I did see him this afternoon through a window in this Chapel. All that Sir W. Coventry yesterday did tell me new was, that the King would not yet give him leave to come to kiss his hand ; and he do believe that he will not in a great while do it, till those about him shall see fit, which I am sorry for. Thence to the Park, my wife and I ; and here Sir W. Coventry did first see me and my wife in a coach of our own ; and so did also this night the Duke of York, who did eye my wife mightily. But I begin to doubt that my being so much seen in my own coach at this time, may be observed to my prejudice ; but I must venture it now. So home, and so set down my Journal, with the help of my left eye through my tube,² for fourteen days past ; which is so much, as, I hope, I shall not run in arrear again, but the badness of my eyes do force me to it.

12th. The whole Office attended the Duke of York at his meeting with Sir Thomas Allen and several flag-officers, to consider of the manner of managing the war with Algiers ; and, it being a thing I was wholly silent in, I did only observe ; and find that their manner of discourse on this weighty affair was very mean and disorderly, the Duke of York himself being the man that I thought spoke most to the purpose.

¹ See 5th April, *ante*.

² See 31st July, 1668.

Meeting Mr. Sheres, took him to see the fine flower-pot I saw yesterday, and did again offer 20*l.* for it; but he [Verelst] insists upon 50*l.* By and by to my wife at Unthanke's, and with her was Jane, and so to the Cocke, where they, and I, and Sheres, and Tom, dined, my wife having a great desire to eat of their soup made of pease. By water to the Bear-Garden, and there happened to sit by Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who is still full of his vain-glorious and prophane talk. Here we saw a prize fought between a soldier and a country fellow, one Warrell, who promised the least in his looks, and performed the most of valour in his boldness and evenness of mind, and smiles in all he did, that ever I saw; and we were all both deceived and infinitely taken with him. He did soundly beat the soldier, and cut him over the head. Thence back to White Hall, mightily pleased, all of us, with this sight, and particularly this fellow, as a most extraordinary man for his temper and evenness in fighting. Home, and after sitting a while, thrumming upon my viall, and singing, I to bed, and left my wife to do something to a waistcoat and petticoat she is to wear to-morrow. This evening, coming home, we overtook Alderman Backewell's coach and his lady, and followed them to their house, and there made them the first visit, where they received us with extraordinary civility, and owning the obligation. But I do, contrary to my expectation, find her something a proud and vain-glorious woman, in telling the number of her servants and family and expences: he is

also so, but he was ever of that strain. But here he showed me the model of his houses that he is going to build in Cornhill and Lumbard Street; but he hath purchased so much there, that it looks like a little town, and must have cost him a great deal of money.

13th. At the Office a good while, and then, my wife going down the River to spend the day with her mother at Deptford, I abroad, and first to the milliner's in Fenchurch Street, and there I bought a pair of gloves, and fell to talk, and found so much freedom that I stayed there the best part of the morning with great pleasure, it being a holiday, and then against my will away and to the 'Change, where I left W. Hewer, and I by hackney coach to the Spittle,¹ and heard a piece of a dull sermon to my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and thence saw them all take horse and ride away, which I have not seen together many a-day; their wives also went in their coaches; and, indeed, the sight was mighty pleasing. Thence took occasion to go back to this milliner's in Fenchurch Street, whose name I understand to be Clerke; and there, her husband inviting me up to the balcony, to see the Show go by to dinner, at Clothworker's-Hall,² I did

¹ At this time preached at St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, but of late years at Christ Church, Newgate Street: see 2nd April, 1662, *ante*.

² Clothworkers' Hall is situated near the north-east end of Mincing Lane, next to Fenchurch Street. Maitland ("Hist. of London," p. 1037) describes it as a fine lofty room, in which Sir John Robinson, when Lord Mayor in 1663, entertained the King and Queen, the Queen Dowager, and the Duke and Duchess of York. The arms of Pepys and Hewer, and other benefactors to the Company, were painted on the glass of the east window.

go up and there saw it go by : and then, there being a good piece of cold roast beef upon the table, and one Margetts, a young merchant that lodges there, and is likely to marry a sister of hers, I staid and eat, and had much good conversation with her, who hath the vanity to talk of her great friends and father, one Wingate, near Welling,¹ that hath been a Parliament-man. Here also was Stapely, the rope-merchant, and dined with us ; and, after spending most of the afternoon also, I away home ; and by water to White Hall to look, among other things, for Mr. May, to unspeak his dining with me to-morrow. Home by water, and there I find Talbot Pepys, and Mrs. Turner, and Betty, come to invite us to dinner on Thursday ; and, after drinking, saw them to the water-side. So home to supper, where very sparing in my discourse, not giving occasion of any enquiry where I have been to-day, or what I have done, and so without any trouble to-night more than my fear we to bed.

14th. Up, and with W. Hewer to White Hall, and there I did speak with the Duke of York, the Council sitting in the morning, and it was to direct me to have my business ready of the Administration of the Office against Saturday next, when the King would have a hearing of it. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "The Impertinents," a play which pleases me well still ; but it is with great trouble that I now see a play, because of my eyes, the light of the can-

¹ Edward Wingate, who represented St. Albans in the Long Parliament.

dles making it very troublesome to me. After the play to Creed's, and there find him and his wife together alone, in their new house, where I never was before ; and a pretty house it is ; but I do not see that they intend to keep any coach. Here they treat us like strangers, quite according to the fashion — nothing to drink or eat, which is a thing that will spoil our ever having any acquaintance with them ; for we do continue the old freedom and kindness of England to all our friends. They do here talk mightily of my Lady Paulina making a very good end, and being mighty religious in her lifetime ; and she hath left many good notes of sermons and religion, wrote with her own hand, which nobody ever knew of ; which I am glad of : but she was always a peevish lady.

15th. To my cozen Turner's, where I find they are gone all to dinner to Povy's, and thither I, and there they were all, and W. Batelier and his sister, and had dined ; but I had good things brought me, and then all up and down the house, and mightily pleased to see the fine rooms : but, the truth is, there are so many bad pictures, that to me make the good ones lose much of the pleasure in seeing them. The. and Betty Turner in new flowered tabby gowns, and so we were pretty merry. So, about five or six o'clock, away, and I took my wife and the two Bateliers, and carried them homeward, and W. Batelier 'lighting, I carried the women round by Islington, and so down Bishops-gate Street home, and there to talk and sup, and then to bed.

16th. My wife being gone abroad with W. Hewer, to see the new play to-day, at the Duke of York's house, "Guzman;" I dined alone with my people, and in the afternoon away by coach to White Hall; and there the Office attended the Duke of York; and being despatched pretty soon, and told we should not wait on the King, as intended, till Sunday, I thence presently to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there, in the 18^d. seat, did get room to see almost three acts of the play; but it seemed to me but very ordinary. After the play done, I into the pit, and there find my wife and W. Hewer; and Sheres got to them, which, so jealous is my nature, did trouble me, though my judgment tells me there is no hurt in it, on neither side; but here I did meet with Shadwell, the poet, who, to my great wonder, do tell me that my Lord of [Orrery] did write this play, trying what he could do in comedy, since his heroique plays could do no more wonders. This do trouble me; for it is as mean a thing, and so he says, as hath been upon the stage a great while; and Harris, who hath no part in it, did come to me, and told me in discourse, that he was glad of it, it being a play that will not take.¹

17th. At noon home to dinner, and there find Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and he dined with us; and there hearing that "The Aichymist" was acted, we did go, and took him with us to the King's house; and it is still a good play, having not been acted for two or

¹ Yet Downes the prompter says (p. 28) that it succeeded very well.

three years before ; but I do miss Clun,¹ for the Doctor.² To Sir W. Coventry's, reading over first my draught of the Administration of the Navy, which he do like very well ; and so fell to talk of his late disgrace, and how basely and in what a mean manner the Duke of Buckingham hath proceeded against him — not like a man of honour. He tells me that the King will not give other answer about his coming to kiss his hands, than “Not yet.” But he says that this that he desires, of kissing the King's hand, is only to show to the world that he is not discontented, and not in any desire to come again into play, though I do perceive that he speaks this with less earnestness than heretofore : and this, it may be, is, from what he told me lately, that the King is offended at what is talked, that he hath declared himself desirous not to have to do with any employment more. But he do tell me that the leisure he hath yet had do not at all begin to be burdensome to him, he knowing how to spend his time with content to himself ; and that he hopes shortly to contract his expence, so as that he shall not be under any straits in that respect neither : and so seems to be in very good condition of content. Thence I away over the Park, it being now night, to White Hall, and there, in the Duchess's chamber, do find the Duke of York ; and, upon my offer to speak with him, he did come to me, and withdrew to his closet, and there did hear and approve my paper of

¹ Who had been murdered : see 4th Aug., 1664, *ante*.

² Subtle, the Alchymist.

the Administration of the Navy, only did bid me alter these words, "upon the rupture between the late King and the Parliament," to these, "the beginning of the late Rebellion;" giving it me as but reason to show that it was through the Rebellion that the Navy was put out of its old good course, into that of a Commission. Having done this, we fell to other talk; he with great confidence telling me how matters go among our adversaries, in reference to the Navy, and that he thinks they do begin to flag; but then, beginning to talk in general of the excellency of old constitutions, he did bring out of his cabinet, and made me read it, an extract out of a book of my late Lord of Northumberland's, so prophetic of the business of Chatham, as is almost miraculous.¹ I did desire, and he did give it me to copy out, which pleased me mightily.

18th (Lord's day). All the morning at my Office, with Gibson and Tom, about drawing up fair my discourse of the Administration of the Navy, and to dinner, and then out to my Office again, to examine the fair draught; and so, borrowing Sir J. Minnes's coach, he going with Colonel Middleton, I to White

¹ A copy of the paper here alluded to is in Rawlinson, A 195, fol. 124. It was an extract from an old book formerly in the library at Petworth, and written by Sir William Monson, the well-known English Admiral, who died in 1643. He was the author of several naval tracts, all of which are printed in Churchill's "*Voyages*," and the passage quoted by Pepys will be found at p. 421 of vol. iii. It seems highly probable that some one in the Dutch interest might have seen Sir William's "*Book of Stratagems*," and planned the memorable expedition against Chatham; though the fact of the defenceless state of the River Thames, in the event of the Dutch ever becoming superior to us at sea, was too obvious to merit the appellation of a prophecy.

Hall, where we all met and did sign it ; and then to my Lord Arlington's, where the King, and the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, as also Ormond and the two Secretaries, with my Lord Ashly and Sir T. Clifford, were. And there, by and by, being called in, Mr. Williamson did read over our paper, which was in a letter to the Duke of York, bound up in a book with the Duke of York's Book of Instructions. He read it well ; and, after read, we were bid to withdraw, nothing being at all said to it. And by and by we were called in again, and nothing said to that business ; but another begun, about the state of this year's action, and our wants of money, as I had stated the same lately to our Treasurers ; which I was bid, and did largely, and with great content, open. And having so done, we all withdrew, and left them to debate our supply of money ; to which, being called in, and referred to attend on the Lords of the Treasury, we all departed. And I only staid in the House till the Council rose ; and then to the Duke of York, in the Duchess's chamber, where he told me that the book was there left with my Lord Arlington, for any of the Lords to view that had a mind, and to prepare and present to the King what they had to say in writing, to any part of it, which is all we can desire, and so that rested. The Duke of York then went to other talk ; and by and by comes the Prince of Tuscany to visit him, and the Duchess ; and I find that he do still remain *incognito*, and so intends to do all the time he stays here, for avoiding trouble to the King and him-

self, and expence also to both. Thence I to White Hall Gate, thinking to have found Sir J. Minnes's coach staying for me ; but, not being there, and this being the first day of rain we have had many a day, the streets being as dusty as in summer, I forced to walk to my cozen Turner's, and there, having kissed and taken leave of Betty, who goes to Putney to school to-morrow, I walked through the rain to the Temple, and there, with much ado, got a coach, and so home.

19th. Up, and with Tom, whom, with his wife, I, and my wife, had this morning taken occasion to tell that I did intend to give him 40*l.* for himself, and 20*l.* to his wife, towards their setting out in the world, and that my wife would give her 20*l.* more, that she might have as much to begin with as he, by coach to White Hall. After dinner out again, and, calling about my coach, which was at the coachmaker's, and hath been for these two or three days, to be new painted, and the window-frames gilt against May-day, went on with my hackney to White Hall.

20th. Up ; and to the Office, and my wife abroad with Mary Batelier, with our own coach, but borrowed Sir J. Minnes's coachman, that so our own might stay at home, to attend at dinner ; our family being mightily disordered by our little boy's falling sick the last night ; and we fear it will prove the small-pox. At noon comes my guest, Mr. Hugh May,' and with him

¹ See note to 8th June, 1665, *ante*.

Sir Henry Capell, my old Lord Capell's son, and Mr. Parker; and I had a pretty dinner for them; and both before and after dinner had excellent discourse; and showed them my closet and my Office, and the method of it, to their great content; and more extraordinary, manly discourse and opportunity of showing myself, and learning from others, I have not, in ordinary discourse, had in my life, they being all persons of worth, but especially Sir H. Capell, whose being a Parliament-man, and hearing my discourse in the Parliament-house, hath, as May tells me, given him a long desire to know and discourse with me. In the afternoon we walked to the old Artillery-Ground¹ near the Spitalfields, where I never was before, but now, by Captain Deane's invitation, did go to see his new gun tryed, this being the place where the Officers of the Ordnance do try all their great guns; and when we came, did find that the trial had been made; and they going away with extraordinary report of the proof of his gun, which, from the shortness and bigness, they do call Punchinello. But I desired Colonel Legg to stay and give us a sight of her performance, which he did, and there, in short, against a gun more than as long and as heavy again, and charged with as much powder again, she carried the same bullet as

¹ Teasel Close, in Bishopsgate Street, where some land had been granted to the Gunners of the Tower for the practice of great and small ordnance, by William, last prior of St. Mary Spital. It was long called the Artillery garden; but ultimately found too small, and disused. Artillery Lane has been built on its site.

strong to the mark, and nearer and above the mark at a point blank than their's, and is more easily managed, and recoils no more than that, which is a thing so extraordinary as to be admired for the happiness of his invention, and to the great regret of the old Gunners and Officers of the Ordnance that were there, only Colonel Legg did do her much right in his report of her. And so, having seen this great and first experiment, we all parted, I seeing my guests into a hackney, and myself, with Captain Deane, taking a hackney-coach, did go out towards Bow, and went as far as Stratford, and all the way talking of this invention, and he offering me a third of the profit of it; which, for aught I know, or do at present think, may prove matter considerable to us: for either the King will give him a reward for it, if he keeps it to himself, or he will give us a patent to make our profit of it: and no doubt but it will be of profit to merchantmen and others, to have guns of the same force at half the charge. This was our talk: and then to talk of other things, of the Navy in general: and, among other things, he did tell me that he do hear how the Duke of Buckingham hath a spite at me, which I knew before, but value it not: and he tells me that Sir T. Allen is not my friend; but for all this I am not much troubled, for I know myself so usefull that, as I believe, they will not part with me; so I thank God my condition is such that I can retire, and be able to live with comfort, though not with abundance. Thus we spent the evening with extraordinary good discourse,

to my great content, and so home to the Office, and there did some business, and then home, where my wife do come home, and I vexed at her staying out so late, but she tells me that she hath been at home with M. Batelier a good while, so I made nothing of it, but to supper and to bed.

21st. Up; and with my own coach as far as the Temple, and thence sent it to my cozen Turner, who, to ease her own horses, that are going with her out of town, do borrow mine. To Auditor Wood's, and met my Lord Bellassis upon some business of his accounts. Attended the Duke of York a little, being the first time of my waiting on him at St. James's this summer, whither he is now newly gone; and thence walked to White Hall; and so, by and by, to the Council-Chamber, and heard a remarkable cause pleaded between the Farmers of the Excise of Wiltshire, in complaint against the Justices of Peace of Salisbury: and Sir H. Finch was for the former. But, Lord! to see how he did with his admirable eloquence order the matter, is not to be conceived almost; so pleasant a thing it is to hear him plead. By and by comes my cozen Turner, and The., and Joyce, in their riding-clothes, they being come from their lodgings to her husband's chamber, at the Temple, and there do lie, and propose to go out of town on Friday next; and here I had a good dinner for them. After dinner by water to White Hall, where the Duke of York did meet our Office, and went with us to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; and there we did go over

all the business of the state I had drawn up, of this year's action and expence, which I did do to their satisfaction, and convincing them of the necessity of providing more money, if possible, for us. Thence the Duke of York being gone, I did there stay walking with Sir H. Chomly in the Court, talking of news; where he told me, that now the great design of the Duke of Buckingham is to prevent the meeting, since he cannot bring about with the King the dissolving, of this Parliament, that the King may not need it; and therefore my Lord St. Albans is hourly expected with great offers of a million of money,¹ to buy our breach with the Dutch; and this, they do think, may tempt the King to take the money, and thereby be out of a necessity of calling the Parliament again, which these people dare not suffer to meet again: but this he doubts, and so do I, that it will be the ruin of the nation if we fall out with Holland. My boy comes to tell me that his mistress was at the Gate with the coach, whither I went, and there find my wife and the whole company. So she, and Mrs. Turner, and The., and Talbot, in mine; and Joyce, W. Batelier, and I, in a hackney, to Hyde Park, where I was ashamed to be seen; but mightily pleased, though troubled, with a drunken coachman that did not remember when we come to 'light, where it was that he took us up; but said at Hammersmith, and thither he was carrying of us when we come first out

¹ From Louis XIV: see 28th April, *post*.

of the Park. So I carried them all to Hercules-Pillars, and there did treat them : and so, about ten at night, parted, and my wife, and I, and W. Batelier, home ; and he gone, we to bed.

22nd. Up, and to the Office, where all the morning. At noon home to dinner, and Captain Deane with us ; and very good discourse, and particularly about my getting a book for him to draw up his whole theory of shipping, which, at my desire, he hath gone far in, and hath shown me what he hath done therein, to admiration. I did give him a Parallelogram, which he is mightily taken with ; and so after dinner to the Office, where all the afternoon till night late, and then home. Vexed at my wife's not being come home, she being gone again abroad with M. Batelier, and came not home till ten at night, which vexed me, so that I to bed, and lay in pain awake till past one, and then to sleep.

23rd. Going to rise, without saying anything, my wife stopped me ; and, after a little angry talk, did tell me how she spent all day yesterday with M. Batelier and her sweetheart, and seeing a play at the New Nursery, which is set up at the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which was formerly the King's house. So that I was mightily pleased again, and rose with great content ; and so by water to White Hall, and there to the Council-Chamber, and heard two or three causes : among others, that of the complaint of Sir Philip Howard and Watson, the inventors, as they pretend, of the business of varnishing and lackerworke, against

the Company of Painters, who take upon them to do the same thing ; where I saw a great instance of the weakness of a young Counsel not used to such an audience, against the Solicitor-General and two more able Counsel used to it. Though he had the right of his side, and did prevail for what he pretended to against the rest, yet it was with much disadvantage and hazard. Here also I heard Mr. Papillion¹ make his defence to the King, against some complaints of the Farmers of Excise ; but it was so weak, and done only by his own seeking, that it was to his injury more than profit, and made his case the worse, being ill managed, and in a cause against the King. By agreement met my wife, and with her to the Cocke, and did give her a dinner, but yet both of us but in an ill humour, whatever was the matter with her, but thence to the King's playhouse, and saw "The Generous Portugalls,"² a play that pleases me better and better every time we see it ; and, I thank God ! it did not trouble my eyes so much as I was afraid it would. Here, by accident, we met Mr. Sheres, and yet I could not but be troubled, because my wife do so delight to talk of him, and to see him. Nevertheless, we took

¹ Thomas Papillon, Esq., of Lubbenham, in Leicestershire, who purchased the manor of Acrise, in Kent, in 1666. He was an eminent merchant of London, and Master of the Mercers' Company in 1698 ; and was M. P. for Dover, *temp.* Charles II., and for London in the 10th of William III. The case of Mr. Papillon related to a Petition of the Company of Wine Merchants, concerning Brandy, *alias* Strong Water, against the Farmers of Excise, of which some account is given in Anchitell Grey's "Debates," vol. i. p. 237.

² This play has not been traced.

him with us to our mercer's, and to the Exchange, and he helped me to choose a summer-suit of coloured camelott, coat and breeches, and a flowered tabby vest very rich ; and so home, where he took his leave, and down to Greenwich, where he hath some friends ; and I to see Colonel Middleton, who hath been ill for a day or two, or three ; and so home to supper, and to bed.

24th. Mr. Sheres dining with us by agreement ; and my wife, which troubled me, mighty careful to have a handsome dinner for him ; but yet I see no reason to be troubled at it, he being a very civil and worthy man, I think ; but only it do seem to imply some little neglect of me. After dinner to the King's house, and there saw "The General"¹ revived — a good play, that pleases me well, and thence, our coach coming for us, we parted and home. Well pleased to-night to have Lead, the vizard-maker, bring me home my vizard, with a tube fastened in it, which, I think, will do my business, at least in a great measure, for the easing of my eyes.

25th (Lord's day). Up, and to my Office awhile, and thither comes Lead with my vizard, with a tube fastened within both eyes ; which, with the help which he prompts me to, of a glass in the tube, do content me mightily. To church, where a stranger made a dull sermon, but I mightily pleased to look upon Mr. Buckworth's little pretty daughters. W. Howe came

¹ By James Shirley.

and dined with us ; and then I to my Office, he being gone, to write down my Journal for the last twelve days : and did it with the help of my vizard and tube fixed to it, and do find it mighty manageable, but how helpfull to my eyes this trial will show me. So abroad with my wife, in the afternoon, to the Park, where very much company, and the weather very pleasant. I carried my wife to the Lodge, the first time this year, and there in our coach eat a cheese-cake and drank a tankard of milk. I showed her this day also first the Prince of Tuscany, who was in the Park, and many very fine ladies.

26th. To Lilly's, the Varnisher, who is lately dead, and his wife and brother keep up the trade, and there I left my French prints to be put on boards : and, while I was there, a fire burst out in a chimney of a house over against his house, but it was with a gun quickly put out. So home, calling at the lace-man's for some lace for my new suit, and at my tailor's, and Mr. Sheres dined with us, who came hither to-day to teach my wife the rules of perspective ; but I think, upon trial, he thinks it too hard to teach her, being ignorant of the principle of lines. After dinner comes Colonel Macnachan, one that I see often at Court, a Scotchman, but know him not ; only he brings me a letter from my Lord Middleton, who, he says, is in great distress for 500*l.* to relieve my Lord Morton¹ with, but upon what account I know not ; and he

¹ William Douglas, ninth Earl of Morton, who had married Lord Middleton's daughter Grizel.

would have me advance it without order upon his pay for Tangier, which I was astonished at, but had the grace to deny him with an excuse. And so he went away, leaving me a little troubled that I was thus driven, on a sudden, to do any thing herein; but Creed, coming just now to see me, he approves of what I have done. And then to talk of general matters, and, by and by, Sheres being gone, my wife, and he, and I out, and I set him down at Temple Bar, and myself and wife went down the Temple upon seeming business, only to put him off; and to the 'Change, about things for her; and here, at Mrs. Burnett's shop, I am told by Betty, who was all undressed, of a great fire happened in Durham-Yard last night, burning the house of one Lady Hungerford,¹ who was to come to town to it this night; and so the house is burned, new furnished, by carelessness of the girl sent to take off a candle from a bunch of candles, which she did by burning it off, and left the rest, as is supposed, on fire. The King and Court were here, it seems, and stopped the fire by blowing up of the next house. The King and Court went out of town to Newmarket this morning betimes, for a week. This night I did call at the coachmaker's, and do resolve upon having the standards of my coach gilt with this new sort of varnish, which will come but to 40s.; and,

¹ Margaret, daughter and co-heir of William Halliday, Alderman of London, widow of Sir Edward Hungerford, of Black Bourton, Oxfordshire, who died, *s. p.*, 1648. She survived till 1673. The house burned down adjoined the present Hungerford Market.

contrary to my expectation, the doing of the biggest coach all over comes not to above 6*l*., which is [not] very much.

27th. Up and to the Office, where all the morning. At noon home to dinner, and then to the Office again, where all the afternoon busy till late, and then home, and got my wife to read to me in the *Nepotisme*,¹ which is very pleasant, and so to supper and to bed. This afternoon was brought to me a fresh *Distringas* upon the score of the *Tangier* accounts, which vexes me, though I hope it will not turn to my wrong.

28th. Up, and was called upon by Sir H. Cholmly to discourse about some accounts of his, of *Tangier*: and then to other talk; and I find by him that it is brought almost to effect (through the late endeavours of the Duke of York and Duchess, the Queen-Mother, and my Lord St. Alban's, together with some of the contrary faction, as my Lord Arlington,) that for a sum of money we shall enter into a league with the King of France, wherein, he says, my Lord Chancellor² is

¹ The work here mentioned is a French translation, published in 1669, of a bitter satire against the Court of Rome, written in Italian, and, as some say, by Gregorio Leti. It was first printed in 1667, without the name or place of printer, but it is from the press of the Elzevirs. The scope of the work will be well understood by the title: "*Il Nipotismo di Roma, o vero relatione delle ragioni che muovono i Pontefici all' aggrandimento de' Nipoti: del bene e male che hanno portato alla Chiesa dopo Sisto IV., sino al presente: delle difficoltà che incontrano i ministri de' Prencipi nel trattare con loro, ed insieme col rimedio opportuno per liberarsi da tali difficoltà, e della causa perche le famiglie de' Pontefici non sono durate lungo tempo in grandezza.*" From this work the word *Nepotism* is derived, and is applied to the bad practice of statesmen, when in power, providing lucrative places for their relations.

² Clarendon, then an exile in France.

also concerned; and that he believes that, in the doing hereof, it is meant that he [Clarendon] shall come in again, and that this sum of money will so help the King as that he will not need the Parliament; and that, in that regard, it will be forwarded by the Duke of Buckingham and his faction, who dread the Parliament. But hereby we must leave the Dutch, and that I doubt will undo us; and Sir H. Cholmly says he finds W. Coventry do think the like. My Lady Castlemaine is instrumental in this matter, and, he says, never more great with the King than she is now. But this is a thing that will make the Parliament and kingdom mad, and will turn to our ruine: for with this money the King shall wanton away his time in pleasures, and think nothing of the main till it be too late. This morning Mr. Sheres sent me, in two volumes, Mariana his *History of Spaine*,¹ in Spanish, an excellent book: and I am much obliged to him for it.

29th. Up; and to the Office, where all the morning, and at noon dined at home, and then to the Office again, there to dispatch as much business as I could, that I might be at liberty to-morrow to look after many things that I have to do, against May-day.

30th. Up, and by coach to the coachmaker's: and there I do find a great many ladies sitting in the body of a coach that must be ended by to-morrow: they

¹ "Historiæ de Rebus Hispaniæ libri xx." By Juan Mariana: first printed at Toledo in 1592. The Spanish version is best known.

were my Lady Marquess of Winchester,¹ Bellassis,² and other great ladies, eating of bread and butter, and drinking ale. I to my coach, which is silvered over, but no varnish yet laid on, so I put it in a way of doing; and myself, about other business, and particularly to see Sir W. Coventry, with whom I talked a good while to my great content; and so to other places—among others, to my tailor's: and then to the belt-maker's, where my belt cost me 55*s.* of the colour of my new suit; and here, understanding that the mistress of the house, an oldish woman in a hat, hath some water good for the eyes, she did dress me, making my eyes smart most horribly, and did give me a little glass of it, which I will use, and hope it will do me good. So to the cutler's, and there did give Tom, who was with me all day, a sword cost me 12*s.* and a belt of my owne; and sent my own silver-hilt sword a-gilding against to-morrow. This morning I did visit Mr. Oldenburgh,³ and did see the instrument for perspective made by Dr. Wren,⁴ of which I have one making by Browne; and the sight of this do

¹ Isabella, daughter of William Howard, Viscount Stafford, third wife to John Powlett, fifth Marquis of Winchester.

² John Lord Bellassis was thrice married: first, to Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Boteler, of Woodhall, Herts; secondly, to Ann, daughter of Sir Robert Crane, of Chilton, Suffolk; thirdly, to Lady Anne Powlett, daughter of the above-named Marquis of Winchester (by his second wife, Lady Honora de Burgh), and who is the person referred to by Pepys.

³ Henry Oldenburgh, Secretary of the Royal Society.

⁴ A description of an instrument invented many years before by Dr. Christopher Wren, for drawing the outlines of any object in perspective, is given in the "Abridgment of Phil. Trans.," vol. i. p. 325 (1669).

please me mightily. At noon my wife came to me at my tailor's, and I sent her home, and myself and Tom dined at Hercules Pillars; and so about our business again, and particularly to Lilly's, the varnisher, about my prints, whereof some of them are pasted upon the boards, and to my full content. Thence to the frame-maker's, one Norris, in Long Acre, who showed me several forms of frames, which were pretty, in little bits of mouldings, to choose patterns by. This done, I to my coachmaker's, and there vexed to see nothing yet done to my coach, at three in the afternoon; but I set it in doing, and stood by it till eight at night, and saw the painter varnish it, which is pretty to see how every doing it over do make it more and more yellow: and it dries as fast in the sun as it can be laid on almost; and most coaches are, now-a-days, done so, and it is very pretty when laid on well, and not too pale, as some are, even to show the silver. Here I did make the workmen drink, and saw my coach cleaned and oyled; and, staying among poor people there in the alley, did hear them call their fat child Punch, which pleased me mightily, that word being become a word of common use for all that is thick and short.¹ At night home, and there find my wife hath been making herself clean against to-morrow; and, late as it was, I

¹ "Puncheon, the vessel, Fr. *poignon*, perhaps so called from the pointed form of the staves; the vessel bellying out in the middle, and tapering towards each end; and hence *punch* (i.e., the large belly), became applied, as Pepys records, to anything thick or short." — RICHARDSON'S *Dictionary*.

did send my coachman and horses to fetch home the coach to-night, and so we to supper, myself most weary with walking and standing so much, to see all things fine against to-morrow, and so to bed. Meeting with Mr. Sheres, to several places, and, among others, to buy a perriwig, but I bought none ; and also to Dancre's, where he was about my picture of Windsor, which is mighty pretty, and so will the prospect of Rome be.

May 1st. Up betimes. Called by my tailor, and there first put on a summer suit this year ; but it was not my fine one of flowered tabby vest, and coloured camelott tunique, because it was too fine with the gold lace at the bands, that I was afraid to be seen in it ; but put on the stuff suit I made the last year, which is now repaired ; and so did go to the Office in it, and sat all the morning, the day looking as if it would be fowle. At noon home to dinner, and there find my wife extraordinary fine, with her flowered tabby gown that she made two years ago, now laced exceeding pretty ; and, indeed, was fine all over ; and mighty earnest to go, though the day was very lowering ; and she would have me put on my fine suit, which I did. And so anon we went alone through the town with our new liveries of serge, and the horses' manes and tails tied with red ribbons, and the standards gilt with varnish, and all clean, and green reines, that people did mightily look upon us ; and, the truth is, I did not see any coach more pretty, though more gay, than ours, all the day. But we set out, out of

humour — I because Betty, whom I expected, was not come to go with us ; and my wife that I would sit on the same seat with her, which she liked not, being so fine : and she then expected to meet Sheres, which we did in the Pell Mell, and, against my will, I was forced to take him into the coach, but was sullen all day almost, and little complaisant : the day being unpleasing, though the Park full of coaches, but dusty and windy, and cold, and now and then a little dribbling of rain ; and, what made it worse, there were so many hackney-coaches as spoiled the sight of the gentlemen's ;¹ and so we had little pleasure. But here was W. Batelier and his sister in a borrowed coach by themselves, and I took them and we to the lodge ; and at the door did give them a syllabub, and other things, cost me 12s., and pretty merry. And so back to the coaches, and there till the evening, and then home, leaving Mr. Sheres² at St. James's Gate, where he took leave of us for altogether, he being this night to set out for Portsmouth post, in his way to Tangier, which troubled my wife mightily, who is mighty, though not, I think, too fond of him. But she was out of humour all the evening, and I vexed at her for it, and she did not rest almost all the night, so as I was forced to take her and hug her to put her to rest.

2nd (Lord's day). Up, and by water to White

¹ This is a little too much, considering that the Journalist had so recently set up his own carriage.

² See note at 18th Jan., 1669.

Hall, and there visited my Lord Sandwich, who, after about two months' absence at Hinchinbroke, came to town last night. I saw him, and he was very kind; and I am glad he is so, I having not wrote to him all the time, my eyes indeed not letting me. Here with Sir Charles Harbord, and my Lord Hinchinbroke, and Sidney, and we looked upon the picture of Tangier, designed by Charles Harbord,¹ and drawn by Dancre, which my Lord Sandwich admires, as being the truest picture that ever he saw in his life: and it is indeed very pretty, and I will be at the cost of having one of them. Thence with them, to White Hall, and there walked out the sermon, with one or other; and then saw the Duke of York, and he talked to me a little; and so away back by water home. After dinner, got my wife to read, and then by coach, she and I, to the Park, and there spent the evening with much pleasure, it proving clear after a little shower, and we mighty fine as yesterday, and people mightily pleased with our coach, as I perceived; but I had not on my fine suit, being really afraid to wear it, it being so fine with the gold lace, though not gay. So home and to supper, and my wife to read my *Nepotisme*, and then to bed.

3rd. Up, and by coach to my Lord Brouncker's, where Sir G. Carteret did meet Sir J. Minnes and me, to discourse upon Mr. Deering's business, who was directed, in the time of the war, to provide provisions

¹ See note to 25th Feb., 1665-6, *ante*.

at Hamburgh, by Sir G. Carteret's direction ; and now Sir G. Carteret is afraid to own it, it being done without written order. But by our meeting we do all begin to recollect enough to preserve Mr. Deering, which I think, poor silly man ! I shall be glad of, it being too much he should suffer for endeavouring to serve us. Thence to St. James's, where the Duke of York was playing in the Pell Mell ; and so he called me to him most part of the time that he played, which was an hour, and talked alone to me ; and, among other things, tells me how the King will not yet be got to name anybody in the room of Pen, but puts it off for three or four days ; from whence he do collect that they are brewing something for the Navy, but what he knows not ; but I perceive is vexed that things should go so, and he hath reason ; for he told me that it is likely they will do in this as in other things — resolve first, and consider it and the fitness of it afterwards. Thence to White Hall, and met with Creed, and I took him to the Harp and Balls, and there drank a cup of ale, and discoursed of matters ; and I perceive by him that he makes no doubt but that all will turn to the old religion, for these people cannot hold things in their hands, nor prevent its coming to that ; and by his discourse he fits himself for it, and would have my Lord Sandwich do so, too, and me. After a little talk with him, and particularly about the ruinous condition of Tangier, which I have a great mind to lay before the Duke of York, before it be too late, but dare not, because of his great kindness to Lord Middleton, we

parted, and I homeward; but called at Povy's and there he stopped me to dinner, there being Mr. Williamson, the Lieutenant of the Tower,¹ Mr. Child, and several others. And after dinner, Povy and I together to talk of Tangier; and he would have me move the Duke of York in it, for it concerns him particularly, more than any, as being the head of us; and I do think to do it.

4th. Walked with my wife in the garden, and my Lord Brouncker with us, who is newly come to W. Pen's lodgings; and by and by comes Mr. Hooke; and my Lord, and he, and I into my Lord's lodgings, and there discoursed of many fine things in philosophy, to my great content.

5th. Up, and thought to have gone with Lord Brouncker to Mr. Hooke this morning betimes; but my Lord is taken ill of the gout, and says his new lodgings have infected him, he never having any symptoms of it till now. So walked to Gresham College, to tell Hooke that my Lord could not come; and so left word, he being abroad. To St. James's, and thence, with the Duke of York, to White Hall, where the Board waited on him all the morning: and so at noon with Sir Thomas Allen, and Sir Edward Scott,² and Lord Carlingford,³ to the Spanish Ambassador's,⁴ where I dined the first time. The Olio not so good as Sheres's. There was at the table himself and a Spanish Countess, a good, comely, and witty lady —

¹ Sir John Robinson. ² Sir Edward Scott, made LL.D. at Oxford, 1677.

³ See vol. ii., 1st May, 1662.

⁴ The Conde de Dona.

three Fathers and us. Discourse good and pleasant. And here was an Oxford scholar in a Doctor of Law's gowne, sent from the College where the Ambassador lay, when the Court was there, to salute him before his return to Spain. This man, though a gentle sort of scholar, yet sat like a fool for want of French or Spanish, but knew only Latin, which he spoke like an Englishman¹ to one of the Fathers. And by and by he and I to talk, and the company very merry at my defending Cambridge against Oxford: and I made much use of my French and Spanish here, to my great content. But the dinner not extraordinary at all, either for quantity or quality. Thence home to my wife, and she read to me the Epistle of Cassandra,² which is very good indeed: and the better to her, because recommended by Sheres. So to supper, and to bed.

6th. Up, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry's, but he gone out. I by water back to the Office, and there all the morning; then to dinner, and then to the Office again, and anon with my wife by coach to take the ayre, it being a noble day, as far as the Greene Man,³

¹ *i. e.*, with the English pronunciation.

² See *ante*, 16th November, 1668.

³ Probably on Stroud Green, and known by the name of Stapleton Hall, originally the residence of Sir Thomas Stapleton, of Gray's Court, Oxon, Bart. The building, on which were his initials, with those of his wife, and the date, 1609, was afterwards converted into a public-house, with the sign of the Green Man, and a century ago had in the front the following inscription:—

“Ye are welcome all
To Stapleton Hall.”

A club, styling themselves “the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Corporation of

mightily pleased with our journey, and our condition of doing it in our own coach, and so home, and to walk in the garden, and so to supper and to bed, my eyes being bad with writing my Journal, part of it, to-night.

7th. Up, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry's; and there to talk with him a great deal with great content; and so to the Duke of York, having a great mind to speak to him about Tangier; but, when I came to it, his interest for my Lord Middleton is such that I dared not. I passed by Guildhall, which is almost finished, and saw a poor labourer carried by, I think, dead with a fall, as many there are, I hear. To see my Lord Brouncker, who is a little ill of the gout; and there Madam Williams told me that she heard that my wife was going into France this year, which I did not deny, if I can get time, and I pray God I may. But I wondering how she come to know it, she tells me a woman that my wife spoke to for a maid, did tell her so, and that a lady that desires to go thither, would be glad to go in her company. Thence with my wife abroad, with our coach, most pleasant weather; and to Hackney, and into the marshes, where I never was before, and thence round about to Old Ford and Bow; and coming through the latter home, there being some young gentlewomen at a door, and I seeming not to know who they were, my wife's jealousy told me pres-

Stroud Green," formerly met annually at this place, which occasioned a scene similar to that of a country wake or fair. — LEWIS'S *Hist. of Islington*, p. 281.

ently that I knew well enough it was the place where Deb. dwelt, which made me answer very angrily that it was false, as it was, and I carried her back again to see the place, and it proved not, so I continued out of humour a good while at it, she being willing to be friends, so I was by and by, saying no more of it. So home, and there met with a letter from Captain Silas Taylor, and, with it, his written copy of a play that he hath wrote, and intends to have acted. It is called "The Serenade, or Disappointment," which I will read, not believing he can make any good of that kind. He did once offer to show Harris it, but Harris told him that he would judge by one Act whether it were good or no, which is indeed a foolish saying, and we see them out themselves in the choice of a play after they have read the whole, it being sometimes not fit to act above three times; nay, and some that have been refused at one house is found a good one at the other. This made Taylor say he would not shew it him, but is angry, and hath carried it to the other house, and he thinks it will be acted there, though he tells me they are not yet agreed upon it. But I will find time to get it read to me, and I did get my wife to begin a little to-night in the garden, but not so much as I could make any judgment of it.

8th. Up, and to the Office, and there comes Lead to me, and at last my vizards are done, and glasses got to put in and out, as I will; and I think I have brought it to the utmost, both for easiness of using and benefit, that I can; and so I paid him 15s. for what

he hath done now last, in the finishing them, and they, I hope, will do me a great deal of ease. At the Office all the morning, and this day, the first time, did alter my side of the table, after above eight years sitting on that next the fire. But now I am not able to bear the light of the windows in my eyes, I do go there, and I did sit with much more content than I had done on the other side for a great while, and in winter the fire will not trouble my back. After dinner, all the afternoon within, with Mr. Hater, Gibson, and W. Hewer, reading over and drawing up new things in the Instructions of Commanders, which will be good, and I hope to get them confirmed by the Duke of York, though I perceive nothing will effectually perfect them but to look over the whole body of the Instructions, of all the Officers of a ship, and make them all perfect together. This being done, comes my bookseller, and brings me home my collection of papers, about my Adresse to the Duke of York in August, bound, which makes me glad, it being that which shall do me more right many years hence than, perhaps, all I ever did in my life : and therefore I do, both for my own and the King's sake, value it much. By and by also comes Browne, the mathematical instrument maker, and brings me home my instrument for perspective, made according to the description of Dr. Wren's, in the late Transactions ; and he hath made it, I think, very well, and that, that I believe will do the thing, and therein gives me great content ; but I have, I fear, all the content

that must be received by my eyes, which are almost lost.

9th (Lord's day). Up; and, after dressing in my best suit with gold trimming, to the Office; and, when church-time, to church with my wife. Dr. Mills preached a dull sermon, and so we home to dinner; and thence by coach to St. Andrew's, Holborne, thinking to have heard Dr. Stillingfleete preach, but we could not get a place, and so to St. Margaret's, Westminster, and there heard a sermon, and did get a place, the first we have heard there these many years. Thence towards the Park, but too soon to go in, so went on to Knightsbridge, and there eat and drank at "The World's End,"¹ where we had good things, and then back to the Park, and there till night, being fine weather, and much company, and so home. This day I first left off both my waistcoats by day, and my waistcoat by night, it being very hot weather, so hot as to make me break out, here and there, in my hands, which vexes me to see, but is good for me.

10th. Troubled, about three in the morning, with my wife's calling her maid up, and rising herself, to go with her coach abroad, to gather May-dew,² which she did, and I troubled for it, for fear of any hurt, going abroad so betimes, happening to her; but I to sleep again, and she came home about six. To White Hall, where the Duke of York met the Office, and there discoursed of several things, particularly

¹ See 31st May, *post*.

² See *ante*, 28th May, 1667.

the Instructions of Commanders of ships. But here happened by chance a discourse of the Council of Trade, against which the Duke of York is mightily displeased, and particularly Mr. Child, against whom he speaking hardly, Captain Cox did second the Duke of York, by saying that he was talked of for an unfair dealer with masters of ships, about freight : to which Sir T. Littleton very hotly and foolishly replied presently, that he never heard any honest man speak ill of Child ; to which the Duke of York did make a smart reply, and was angry ; so as I was sorry to hear it come so far, and that I, by seeming to assent to Cox, might be observed too much by Littleton, though I said nothing aloud, for this must breed great heart-burnings. After this meeting done, the Duke of York took the Treasurers into his closet to chide them, as Mr. Wren tells me ; for that my Lord Keeper did last night at the Council say, when nobody was ready to say any thing against the constitution of the Navy, that he did believe the Treasurers of the Navy had something to say, which was very foul on their part, to be parties against us. They being gone, Mr. Wren and I took boat, thinking to dine with my Lord of Canterbury ;¹ but, when we came to Lambeth, the gate was shut, which is strictly done at twelve o'clock, and nobody comes in afterwards : so we lost our labour, and therefore back to White Hall, and thence walked to my Lord Crew, whom I have not seen since

¹ On one of the public days.

he was sick, which is eight months ago, I think, and there dined with him: he is mightily broke. A stranger, a country gentleman, was with him: and he pleased with my discourse accidentally about the decay of gentlemen's families in the country, telling us that the old rule was, that a family might remain fifty miles from London one hundred years, one hundred miles from London two hundred years, and so farther or nearer London more or less years. He also told us that he hath heard his father say, that in his time it was so rare for a country gentleman to come to London, that, when he did come, he used to make his will before he set out. Thence to St. James's, and there met the Duke of York, who told me, with great content, that he did now think he should master our adversaries, for that the King did tell him that he was satisfied in the constitution of the Navy, but that it was well to give these people leave to object against it, which they having not done, he did give order to give warrant to the Duke of York, to direct Sir Jeremy Smith to be a Commissioner of the Navy in the room of Pen; which, though he be an impertinent fellow, yet I am glad of it, it showing that the other side is not so strong as it was: and so, in plain terms, the Duke of York did tell me, that they were every day losing ground; and particularly that he would take care to keep out Child: at all which I am glad, though yet I dare not think myself secure, as the King may yet be wrought upon by these people to bring changes in our Office, and remove us, ere it be long. To

White Hall, to a Committee of Tangier, where I see all things going to rack in the business of the Corporation, and consequently in the place, by Middleton's going. Thence walked a little with Creed, who tells me he hears how fine my horses and coach are, and advises me to avoid being noted for it, which I was vexed to hear taken notice of, being what I feared: and Povy told me of my gold-laced sleeves in the Park yesterday, which vexed me also, so as to resolve never to appear in Court with them, but presently to have them taken off, as it is fit I should, and so called at my tailor's for that purpose.

11th. My wife again up by four o'clock, to go to gather May-dew; and so back home by seven, to bed. In the evening my wife and I all alone, with the boy, by water, up as high as Putney almost, with the tide, and back again, neither staying, going nor coming; but talking, and singing, and reading a foolish copy of verses upon my Lord Mayor's entertaining of all the bachelors, designed in praise to my Lord Mayor. Some trouble at Court for fear of the Queen's mis-carrying; she being, as they all conclude, far gone with child.

12th. To Westminster Hall; and there by chance met Roger Pepys, who came to town the last night: I was glad to see him. After some talk with him and others, and among others, Sir Charles Harbord and Sidney Montagu, the latter of whom is to set out to-morrow towards Flanders and Italy, I invited them to dine with me to-morrow. After dinner, my wife

and I to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there, in the side balcony, over against the musick, did hear, but not see, a new play, the first day acted, "The Roman Virgin,"¹ an old play, and but ordinary, I thought; but the trouble of my eyes with the light of the candles did almost kill me. Thence to my Lord Sandwich's, and there had a promise from Sidney to come and dine with me to-morrow; and so my wife and I home in our coach, and there find my brother John, as I looked for, come to town from Ellington,² where, among other things, he tells me the first news that my sister Jackson is with child, and far gone, which I know not whether it did more trouble or please me, having no great care for my friends to have children, though I love other people's. So, glad to see him, we to supper, and so to bed.

13th. At noon comes my Lord Hinchinbroke, and Sidney, and Sir Charles Harbord, and Roger Pepys, and dined with me; and had a good dinner, and very merry with us all the afternoon, it being a farewell to Sidney; and so in the evening they away, and I to my business at the Office, and so to supper, and talk with my brother, and so to bed.

14th. At noon with Mr. Wren, to Lambeth, to dinner with the Archbishop of Canterbury; the first time I was ever there, and I have long longed for it; where

¹ A tragedy, altered by Thomas Betterton, from Webster's "Appius and Virginia."

² In Huntingdonshire, the residence of Pepys's brother-in-law, Mr. Jackson.

a noble house, and well furnished with good pictures and furniture, and noble attendance in good order, and a great deal of company, though an ordinary day; and exceeding great cheer, no where better, or so much, that ever I think I saw, for an ordinary table: and the Bishop mighty kind to me particularly, desiring my company another time, when less company there. Most of the company gone, and I going, I heard by a gentleman of a sermon that was to be there; and so I staid to hear it, thinking it serious, till by and by the gentleman told me it was a mockery, by one Cornet Bolton, a very gentleman-like man, that behind a chair did pray and preach like a Presbyterian Scot, with all the possible imitation in grimaces and voice. And his text about the hanging up their harps upon the willows: ¹ and a serious good sermon too, exclaiming against Bishops, and crying up of my good Lord Eglinton,² till it made us all burst; but I did wonder to have the Bishop at this time to make himself sport with things of this kind, but I perceive it was shown him as a rarity; and he took care to have the room-door shut, but there were about twenty gentlemen there, and myself, infinitely pleased with

¹ Psalm cxxxvii. 2.

² The person here alluded to is probably Alexander Montgomery, the sixth Earl of Eglintoun, called Greysteel, who was a rank Presbyterian, and a ruling Elder of the General Assembly, when the solemn League and Covenant were drawn up. He fought against Charles at Marston Moor, whilst his son and successor was in the King's army; but he afterwards became a Royalist and died in 1661, æt. 73. The son was a consistent supporter of Monarchy, and there seems no reason why he should have been made an object of satire. His death occurred only two months before the unseemly scene at Lambeth.

the novelty. So over to White Hall, to a little Committee of Tangier; and thence walking in the Gallery, I met Sir Thomas Osborne, who, to my great content, did of his own accord fall into discourse with me, with such professions of value and respect, placing the whole virtue of the Office of the Navy upon me, and that for the Comptroller's place, no man in England was fitted for it but me, when Sir J. Minnes, as he says it is necessary, is removed: but then he knows not what to do for a man in my place; and in discourse, though I have no mind to the other, I did bring in Tom Hater to be the fittest man in the world for it, which he took good notice of. But in the whole I was mightily pleased, reckoning myself now fifty per cent. securer in my place than I did before think myself to be. Thence to Unthanke's, and there find my wife, but not dressed, which vexed me, because of going to the Park, it being a most pleasant day after yesterday's rain, which lays all the dust, and most people going out thither, which vexed me. So home, sullen; but then my wife and I by water, with my brother, as high as Fulham, talking and singing, and playing the rogue with the Western bargemen,¹ about the women of Woolwich,² which mads them.

15th. Up, and at the Office all the morning. Dined at home, and Creed with me, and I did discourse about evening some reckonings with him in the afternoon; but I could not, for my eyes, do it, which

¹ For what Addison calls "Thames ribaldry," see "Spectator," No. 383.

² See 2nd June, 1668, *ante*, and 28th May, *post*.

troubled me, and vexed him that I would not; but yet we were friends, I advancing him money without it, and so to walk all the afternoon together in the garden; and I perceive still he do expect a change in our matters, especially as to religion, and fits himself for it by professing himself for it in his discourse.¹ He gone, I to my business at my Office, and so at night home to supper, and to bed.

16th (Lord's day). My wife and I at church, our pew filled with Mrs. Backewell, and six more that she brought with her, which vexed me at her confidence. I all the afternoon drawing up a foul draught of my petition to the Duke of York, about my eyes, for leave to spend three or four months out of the Office, drawing it so as to give occasion to a voyage abroad, which I did, to my pretty good liking; and then with my wife to Hyde Park, where a good deal of company, and good weather.

17th. My wife and I and brother John by coach to the King's playhouse, and saw "The Spanish Curate" revived, which is a pretty good play, but my eyes troubled with seeing it, mightily. Great news now of the French taking St. Domingo,² in Spaniola, from the Spaniards, which troubles us, that they should have got it, and have the honour of taking it, when we could not.

¹ See *ante*, 3rd May, 1669.

² St. Domingo, on the southern coast of Hispaniola, the oldest European establishment in America, was founded by Columbus in 1504. A town named Isabella had been built in 1493, on the northern coast, but it was afterwards abandoned.

18th. Dined in my wife's chamber, she being much troubled with the tooth-ake, and I staid till a surgeon of hers come, one Leeson, who hath formerly drawn her mouth, and he advised her to draw it : so I to the Office, and by and by word is come that she hath drawn it, which pleased me, it being well done. So I home, to comfort her.

19th. With my coach to St. James's; and there finding the Duke of York gone to muster his men, in Hyde Park, I alone with my boy thither, and there saw more, walking out of my coach as other gentlemen did, of a soldier's trade, than ever I did in my life : the men being mighty fine, and their Commanders, particularly the Duke of Monmouth; but methought their trade but very easy as to the mustering of their men, and the men but indifferently ready to perform what was commanded, in the handling of their arms. Here the news was first talked of Harry Killigrew's being wounded in nine places last night, by footmen, in the highway, going from the Park in a hackney-coach towards Hammersmith, to his house at Turnham Greene : they being supposed to be my Lady Shrewsbury's men, she being by, in her coach with six horses; upon an old grudge of his saying openly that he had intrigued with her. Thence by and by to White Hall, and there I waited upon the King and Queen all dinner-time, in the Queen's lodgings, she being in her white pinner¹ and apron, like a

¹ Pinafore.

woman with child ; and she seemed handsomer plain so, than when dressed. And by and by, dinner done, I out, and to walk in the Gallery, for the Duke of York's coming out ; and there, meeting Mr. May, he took me down about four o'clock to Mr. Cheffinch's lodgings, and all alone did get me a dish of cold chickens, and good wine ; and I dined like a prince, being before very hungry and empty. By and by the Duke of York comes, and readily took me to his closet, and received my petition, and discoursed about my eyes, and pitied me, and with much kindness did give me his consent to be absent, and approved of my proposition to go into Holland to observe things there, of the Navy ; but would first ask the King's leave, which he anon did, and did tell me that the King would be a good master to me, these were his words, about my eyes, and do like of my going into Holland, but do advise that nobody should know of my going thither, and that I should pretend to go into the country somewhere, which I liked well. In discourse this afternoon, the Duke of York did tell me that he was the most amazed at one thing just now, that ever he was in his life, which was, that the Duke of Buckingham did just now come into the Queen's bed-chamber, where the King was, with much mixed company, and among others, Tom Killigrew, the father of Harry, who was last night wounded so as to be in danger of death, and his man is quite dead ; and Buckingham there did say that he had spoke with some one that was by, which person all the world must know must be his mistress,

my Lady Shrewsbury, who says that they did not mean to hurt, but beat him, and that he did run first at them with his sword ; so that he do hereby clearly discover that he knows who did it, and is of conspiracy with them, being of known conspiracy with her, which the Duke of York did seem to be pleased with, and said it might, perhaps, cost him his life in the House of Lords ; and I find was mightily pleased with it, saying it was the most impudent thing, as well as the most foolish, that ever he knew man do in all his life.

20th. Up and to the Office. At noon, the whole Office — Brouncker, J. Minnes, T. Middleton, Samuel Pepys, and Captain Cox to dine with the Parish, at the Three Tuns, this day being Ascension-day, where exceeding good discourse among the merchants. With my eyes mighty weary, and my head full of care how to get my accounts and business settled against my journey, home to supper, and to bed. Yesterday, at my coming home, I found that my wife had, on a sudden, put away Matt upon some falling out, and I doubt Matt did call her ill names by my wife's own discourse ; but I did not meddle to say anything upon it, but let her go, being not sorry, because now we may get one that speaks French, to go abroad with us.

21st. I waited with the Office upon the Duke of York, in the morning. Dined at home, where Lewis Phillips, with a friend of his, dined with me. In the afternoon at the Office. In the evening visited by Roger Pepys and Philip Packer ; and so home.

23rd (Lord's day). Called up by Roger Pepys and

his son, who to church with me, and then in the afternoon carried them to Westminster, and myself to St. James's, where, not finding the Duke of York, back home, and with my wife spent the evening taking the ayre about Hackney, with great pleasure.

23th. To White Hall, where I attended the Duke of York, and was by him led to the King,¹ who expressed great sense of my misfortune in my eyes, and concernment for their recovery; and accordingly signified, not only his assent to my desire therein, but commanded me to give them rest this summer, according to my late petition to the Duke of York. W. Hewer and I dined alone at the Swan; and thence, having thus waited on the King, spent till four o'clock in St. James's Park, when I met my wife at Unthanke's, and so home.

25th. Dined at home; and the rest of the day, morning and afternoon, at the Office.

26th. To White Hall, where all the morning. Dined with Mr. Cheffinch, with Alderman Backewell, and Spragg. The Court full of the news from Captain Hubbert, of "The Milford," touching his being affronted in the Streights, shot at, and having eight of his men killed by a French man-of-war, calling him "English dog," and commanding him to strike, which he refused, and, as knowing himself much too weak

¹ It seems doubtful whether the expression of being led to the King has any reference to the defective state of Pepys's vision. Perhaps, he might wish to make the most of this infirmity, in the hope of strengthening his claim for leave of absence.

for him, made away from him. The Queen, as being supposed with child, fell ill, so as to call for Madam Nun, Mr. Cheffinch's sister, and one of her women, from dinner from us ; this being the last day of their doubtfulness touching her being with child ; and they were therein well confirmed by her Majesty's being well again before night. One Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey,¹ a woodmonger and Justice of Peace in Westminster, having two days since arrested Sir Alexander Frazier² for about 30*l.* in firing, the bailiffs were apprehended, committed to the porter's lodge, and there, by the King's command, the last night severely whipped ; from which the Justice himself very hardly escaped, to such an unusual degree was the King moved therein. But he lies now in the lodge, justifying his act, as grounded upon the opinion of several of the Judges, and, among others, my Lord Chief-Justice ; which makes the King very angry with the Chief-Justice, as they say ; and the Justice do lie and justify his act, and says he will suffer in the cause for the people, and do refuse to receive almost any nutriment. The effects of it may be bad to the Court.

27th. Presented this day by Mr. Browne with a

¹ The history of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey is too well known to require any comment, though his tragical end has never been satisfactorily made out. In the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" for October, 1848, there are some interesting details about the Knight's family, and a description and plate of a silver cup, which seems to have been presented to him by the King for his important services during the Plague and the Fire of London, and is now in the possession of the Corporation of Sudbury.

² One of the King's physicians.

book of drawing by him, lately printed,¹ which cost me 20s., to him. In the afternoon to the Temple, to meet with Auditor Aldworth² about my interest account, but failed of meeting him. To visit my cozen Creed, and found her ill at home, being with child, and looks poorly. Thence to her husband, at Gresham College, upon some occasions of Tangier; and so home, with Sir John Bankes with me, to Mark Lane.

28th. To St. James's, where the King's being with the Duke of York prevented a meeting of the Tangier Commission. But, Lord! what a deal of sorry discourse did I hear between the King and several Lords about him here! but very mean, methought. So with Creed to the Excise Office, and back to White Hall, where, in the Park, Sir G. Carteret did give me an account of his discourse lately, with the Commissioners of Accounts, who except against many things, but none that I find considerable; among others, that of the Officers of the Navy selling of the King's goods, and particularly my providing him with calico flags, which having been by order, and but once, when ne-

¹ A curious and uncommon book, entitled "A Compendious Drawing-Book, composed by Alexander Browne, limner, collected from the drawings of the most celebrated painters in Europe, engraven by Arnold de Jode." A second edition with letter-press, and additions, was published in 1675, under the title of "*Ars Pictoria*."

² Richard Aldworth, of Stanlake, Berks, then one of the Auditors of the Exchequer, represented Reading in the first Parliament after the Restoration, and died in 1680. He was the paternal ancestor of the second and third Lords Braybrooke. In 1762, the Auditor's grandson, Richard Neville Aldworth, succeeded to the estates of the Nevilles of Billingbear, in Berkshire, in right of his mother, who was their sole heir, and whose maiden name he assumed. The Auditor's portrait, by Lely, is still at Billingbear.

cessity, and the King's apparent profit, justified it, as conformable to my particular duty, it will prove to my advantage that it be enquired into. Nevertheless, having this morning received from them a demand of an account of all monies within their cognizance, received and issued by me, I was willing, upon this hint, to give myself rest, by knowing whether their meaning therein might reach only to my Treasurership for Tangier, or the monies employed on this occasion. I went, therefore, to them this afternoon, to understand what monies they meant, where they answered me, by saying, "The eleven months' tax, customs, and prize-money," without mentioning, any more than I demanding, the service they respected therein ; and so, without further discourse, we parted, upon very good terms of respect, and with few words, but my mind not fully satisfied about the monies they mean. With my wife and brother spent the evening on the water, carrying our supper with us, as high as Chelsea, making sport with the Westernne bargees,¹ and my wife and I singing, to my great content.

29th. The King's birth-day. To White Hall, where all very gay ; and particularly the Prince of Tuscany very fine, and is the first day of his appearance out of mourning, since he came. I hear the Bishop of Peterborough² preach but dully ; but a good anthem of Pelham's. Home to dinner, and then with my wife to Hyde Park, where all the evening ; great store of company, and great preparations by the Prince of

¹ Still a cant term for the Thames bargemen. ² Joseph Henshaw : ob. 1678.

Tuscany to celebrate the night with fire-works, for the King's birth-day. And so home.

30th (Whitsunday). By water to White Hall, and thence to Sir W. Coventry, where all the morning by his bed-side, he being indisposed. Our discourse was upon the notes I have lately prepared for Commanders' Instructions; but concluded that nothing will render them effectual, without an amendment in the choice of them, that they be seamen, and not gentlemen above the command of the Admiral, by the greatness of their relations at Court. Thence to White Hall, and dined with Mr. Cheffinch and his sister: whither by and by came in Mr. Progers and Sir Thomas Allen, and by and by fine Mrs. Wells,¹ who is a great beauty; and there I had my full gaze upon her, to my great content, she being a woman of pretty conversation. Thence to the Duke of York, who, with the officers of the Navy, made a good entrance on my draught of my new Instructions to Commanders, as well expressing his general views of a reformation among them, as liking of my humble offers towards it. Thence being called by my wife, we to the Park, whence the rain sent us suddenly home.

31st. Up very betimes, and continued all the morning with W. Hewer, upon examining and stating my accounts, in order to the fitting myself to go abroad beyond sea, which the ill condition of my eyes, and my neglect for a year or two, hath kept me behind-hand in, and so as to render it very difficult now, and

¹ See 8th February, 1662-3.

troublesome to my mind to do it ; but I this day made a satisfactory entrance therein. Had another meeting with the Duke of York, at White Hall, on yesterday's work, and made a good advance : and so, being called by my wife, we to the Park, Mary Batelier, and a Dutch gentleman, a friend of hers, being with us. Thence to "The World's End," a drinking-house by the Park ; and there merry, and so home late.

And thus ends all that I doubt I shall ever be able to do with my own eyes in the keeping of my Journal, I being not able to do it any longer, having done now so long as to undo my eyes almost every time that I take a pen in my hand ; and, therefore, whatever comes of it, I must forbear : and, therefore, resolve, from this time forward, to have it kept by my people in long-hand, and must be contented to set down no more than is fit for them and all the world to know ; or, if there be any thing, which cannot be much, now my amours are past, and my eyes hindering me in almost all other pleasures, I must endeavour to keep a margin in my book open, to add, here and there, a note in short-hand with my own hand.

And so I betake myself to that course, which is almost as much as to see myself go into my grave : for which, and all the discomforts that will accompany my being blind, the good God prepare me !

S. P.

May 31, 1669.

CORRESPONDENCE OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

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[The Letters marked C. were contributed by the late SAMUEL PEPYS COCKERELL, Esq., from Family Papers in his possession. U. denotes those from the Collection of the late Mr. W. UPCOTT; and the remainder, to which B. M., B. L., or P. L. are prefixed, were copied from the British Museum, Bodleian, or Pepysian Libraries.]

B.M. orig.]

S. Pepys to Lord Hinchinbroke.

Navy Office, July 25, 1665.

My Lord — Your Lordship's of the 25th instant (new style), from Paris, came this day to my hand, and, as you command, I have taken care for a ship of 36 guns to attend you at Calais, to be there by the 1st of next month, English style. The Captain, I am sure, will make it his care to express all manner of respects to your Lordship in your passage. Your landing I have thought best to assign to Dover, in the Captain's instructions, where some advice from my Lady shall meet your Lordship. I shall forbear saying more in this, intending what I have either of news, or anything else I have to inform your Lordship of, to send you by the next post to Calais: therefore taking leave, being

Your Lordship's ever affectionate and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

B.L. orig.]

The Earl of Sandwich to S. Pepys.

August 30, 1665. Under sayle, wind at West.

(Excuse my haste, the Duke of Albemarle hath a list of the fleete.)

Mr. Pepys — Havinge not heard from you of divers dayes, it was very good newes to me to receive your letters, for I was in feare for you of the infection.

Wee have hastily hurried in what provisions wee had by us, and without stayinge for more, or for any other supply of men, wee are now got under sayle. I beleeeve wee have neer 15 dayes drinke in the fleete, and our actuall condition will be much as it is stated in the account you sent me, but not soe if wee had continued at whole allowance and beene full manned.

I have written largely of all particulars to none but my brother, Sir Geo. Carteret, with whom I wish you to correspond. There be many thinges necessarye for present care against the fleet's returne; I pray use your best care for them.

God send you good newes of us, and that at my returne I may find your family and my other friends in health and prosperity!

I am, &c.,

SANDWICH.

B.L. orig.]

The Earl of Sandwich to the Duke of Albemarle.¹

(Transmitted to Mr. Pepys.)

On board the Prince, 30 leagues N.N.W.
from the Texell, Sepr. 5, 1665.

May itt please you Grace — Since I putt last to sea, on Thursday last, wee had a storme of winde att N.W., which, God be thanked, did us noe other damage than spoiling the masts of the Diamond, sent into Harwich, and 40 barreles of the Soveraigne's powder. Separated very few of us, though the same upon the coast of Norway much dispersed the Dutch, some of which were light uppon on the 3rd of Sept^r. Tooke 2 of their East India men, a Straights man, a Malaga man, and 4 men of warre; 3 of them of 50 guns and one of 40 guns, and some other small vessells. I have intelligence the greatest parte of their fleet is about the Walbanck, whither I am now plying, and hope to see them shortly. I thought requisite to send a vessell to informe the King and Duke thus much of us,

¹ See "Diary," 10th Sept., 1665.

and your Grace, noe person in the world being a truer and thankfuller servant of your Grace's than, &c.,

SANDWICH.

The Hector is unfortunately sunke, and the Captain and most of her men drowned; only 25 saved. The Captain carried himself exceedingly well; helped to take the Vice-admirall of the East Indies, and only putt some men on board her, and went on to engage the men of warre. Capt. Con (Capt. of the Mary) is hurt in the foote with a great shott.¹

¹ *Prizes taken on the 3d and 4th of September.*

Surprizers.	Men of warre 4 — viz.	Men.	Guns.
Assurance . .	West Frezeland — Capt. Peter Clawson . . .	220	50
Antelope . .	The 7 Oakes	250	54
Adventure . .	A man of warre of	220	50
Mary	A man of warre of	190	40
		880	

Of 3 East India men and 7 other merchants.

		Tons.	Men.
Adventure . .	{ The Phoenix, an East India merchant, being the Hector . . . { V. Adm ^l , burthen }	—	150
Plymouth . .		{ The Slotheny, another East India merchant, being Mitford . . { the R. Admirall, burthen }	—
Ruby	{ Another Streights merchant, soe engaged that they sett her on fire }		
Adventure . .	A merchant. man from Lisbon	—	40
Guinea . . .	A merchant. man from the Straights	—	40
Mars	A merchant. man from Malaga	—	24
Dover	{ The William and Mary, of Rotterdam. In her 150 barrels of powder, shott, paper, &c., for De Ruyter }	—	15
		{ Fountaine of Schedam, a busse, laden with clawboards, bound for Malaga }	—
Colchester . .	A small vessell	—	12
Pembroke . .	{ A vessell laden with clawboards, bound for Bordeaux }	—	8
			447
			880
			1327

B.L.]

S. Pepys to Lady Carteret.

Woolwich, September 4, 1665.

Dear Madam — Your Ladyship will not (I hope) imagine I expected to be provoked by letters from you to think of the duty I ought and should long since have paid your Ladyship by mine, had it been fit for me (during my indispensable attendance alone in the city) to have ventured the affrighting you with any thing from thence. But now that by the dispatch of the fleet I am at liberty to retire wholly to Woolwich, where I have been purging my inkhorn and papers these six days, your Ladyship shall find no further cause to reproach me my silence. And in amends for what's past, let me conjure you, Madam, to believe that no day hath passed since my last kissing your hands without my most interested wishes for your health and the uninterrupted prosperity of your Ladyship and family.

I took care for the present disposal of what were inclosed in your Ladyship's to me; and, in answer to that to Dagenhams, return these from my Lady Wright, who, in her's to myself, gives assurance of my Lord Hinchinbroke's being got up, and the health of the rest of her family.

My Lord Sandwich is gone to sea, with a noble fleet, in want of nothing but a certainty of meeting the enemy.

My best Lady Sandwich, with the flock at Hinchinbroke, was, by my last letters, very well.

The absence of the Court and emptiness of the city takes away all occasion of news, save only such melancholy stories as would rather sadden than find your Ladyship any divertisement in the hearing; I having stayed in the city till above 7,400 died in one week, and of them above 6,000 of the plague, and little noise heard day or night but tolling of bells; till I could walk Lumber-street, and not meet twenty persons from one end to the other, and not 50 upon the Exchange; till whole families, 10 and 12 together, have been swept away; till my very physician, Dr. Burnet, who undertook to secure me against any infection, having survived the month of his own house

being shut up, died himself of the plague; till the nights, though much lengthened, are grown too short to conceal the burials of those that died the day before, people being thereby constrained to borrow daylight for that service: lastly, till I could find neither meat nor drink safe, the butcheries being every where visited, my brewer's house shut up, and my baker, with his whole family, dead of the plague.

Yet, Madam, through God's blessing, and the good humours begot in my attendance upon our late Amours,¹ your poor servant is in a perfect state of health, as well as resolution of employing it as your Ladyship and family shall find work for it.

How Deptford stands, your Ladyship is, I doubt not, informed from nearer hands.

Greenwich begins apace to be sickly; but we are, by the command of the King, taking all the care we can to prevent its growth; and meeting to that purpose yesterday, after sermon, with the town officers, many doleful informations were brought us, and, among others, this, which I shall trouble your Ladyship with the telling. — Complaint was brought us against one in the town for receiving into his house a child newly brought from an infected house in London. Upon inquiry, we found that it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracious Street, who, having lost already all the rest of his children, and himself and wife being shut up and in despair of escaping, implored only the liberty of using the means for the saving of this only babe, which with difficulty was allowed, and they suffered to deliver it, stripped naked, out at a window into the arms of a friend, who, shifting into fresh cloathes, conveyed it thus to Greenwich, where, upon this information from Alderman Hooker,² we suffer it to remain.

This I tell your Ladyship as one instance of the miserable streights our poor neighbours are reduced to.

But, Madam, I'll go no further in this disagreeable discourse,

¹ The marriage of Lady Carteret's son, and Lord Sandwich's daughter. — See *Diary*, 31st July, 1665.

² See "*Diary*," 3rd September, 1665.

hoping, from the coolness of the last 7 or 8 days, my next may bring you a more welcome accompt of the lessening of the disease, which God say Amen to.

Dear Madam, do me right to my good Lady Slaning, in telling her that I have sent and sent again to Mr. Porter's lodging, who is in the country, for an answer to my letter about her Ladyship's business, but am yet unable to give her any accompt of it.

My wife joins with me in ten thousand happy wishes to the young couple, and as many humble services to your Ladyship and them, my Lady Slaning, Lady Scott, and Mr. Sidney, whose return to Scott's-hall, if not burthensome to your Ladyship, will, I am sure, be as full of content to him as it will ever be of joy and honour to me to be esteemed,

Dearest Madam,

Your Ladyship's most affectionate and
obedient servant,

SAMUEL PEPYS.

B.L. orig.]

Sir W^m Coventry to S. Pepys.

Oxford, November 7, 1665.

Sir—Yours of 4th I have received with the enclosed, for which I return you thanks. Some recompences, I well remember, in the Dutch warre, which much exceeded those sette down, as to Captⁿ Ball 1,200*l.*, and others in the same booke and folio. If I were at St. James's, my notes would referre mee to it; but these may bee more proper for the ordinary rewards, which God send the King may goe through with; for the extraordinary, hee may doe as hee pleaseth upon emergencies.

I am glad Rear-Admiral Harman has sailed: if God send him good lucke, I hope our reputation may out-goe the Dutch yet. For the close of the yeare, I thinke such a Committee of Commanders as my Lord Sandwich mentions may bee very good, if well chosen: pray desire my Lord he propose some fitt men for it. I did send to tempt the Commanders in the fleet to enquire into the vast and extravagant expence of vict-

ualls, but could get noe retorne of it. Something Sir W^m Penn hath sent me, a draught for a Supplimentall Instruction to Commanders, of which, either by this or the next conveyance, you shall have a copy. It is not hard to make good rules, but to gett them executed is the difficulty, especially when there is soe much worke to doe, and that Commanders and all sort of Officers knowe their owne value enough to beleieve that the King would not easily part with a good fighting Captain for a neglect of keeping a good checque upon his Purser. However, pray lett us try what can bee done in itt: possibly, when the rule comes recommended from the Commanders themselves, it will bee better observed. I will alsoe write to my Lord Sandwich about it.

My last gave you my reasons against your coming hither: because Sir G. Carteret was gone to London to gett money, and, at the time of his being there, I held your presence necessary there.

For God's sake, hasten some clothes to Portsmouth. If the Board be satisfied in the need of a Boatswain of the Yard at Harwich as yett, I shall be ready to procure the warrant for any man whoe shall be well certified for it. For the matter of hempe, all I can say is, *oportet haberi*; and then, *redime te captum quam queas minimo*.

If money bee not speedily procured, I expect every day shall produce worse and worse effects: but I hope Mr. Vice-Chamberlaine ¹ will cure all that mischeife.

I am sorry Sir W^m Batten hath bin soe rudely handeled, and that the Office hath lost its security. I hope a supply of money will sett it all right; and could heartily wish the Court were neerer London, to bee ready both to advise and execute better then at this distance wee can doe. I hope a little more decrease of the plague will make somebody valiant enough to advise it; though, it concerning his Majesty's and his Royal Highness's safety, I am not soe corragious, at least as yett, though I confesse I wish it.

¹ Sir G. Carteret.

The expedient you offer of buying the seamen's ticketts, if it were certaine that it would bee exactly and sacredly executed, were an excellent one, and worthy the King's paying the abatement, that soe the seamen might receive the whole, which is, above all, to bee endeavoured: but though I have a good opinion of the person you named, yet I cannot say I am sure noe more profit should bee made, and nothing abated, unlesse there were a place appointed, and a sett hire for it; when a clarke, or some trusty person, might attend to see it done. What shall be approved for one man in this matter, will soone bee altered for others alsoe, and at last it will fall into hands to make ill use of it. Why might not the money be as well paid to the Treasurer, and then issued only for ticketts? but, I suppose, the answer may bee, money will thus issue only by small summes, and soe easier compassed. To that I can reply nothing, but that, if it can bee done noe otherwise to take off the reproach to the King's service and abuse to the seamen, I am of opinion there ought to bee a checque upon it. If you thinke fitt to speake with Sir G. Carteret upon it, perhaps some good may come of it: if any thing bee done, pray lett me heare. I am clear of opinion the King had better beare twice the losse of 12*d.* per T. then lett the seamen bear itt.

It is most necessary the men to the westward should bee then supplied with clothes: it is well if the slopsellers can furnish the rest of the ships. If Sir John Skelton or any else can furnish them, hee shall doe a good service. If the price were greater, and the cloathes better, the seaman would bee a gainer.

I shall, the first Councill Day, propose Mr. Furiers complaint of the Justice.

I doubt I have burned Captain Reynolds his letter of his brave retreate from the Dutch fleet: if I find it, I will send it to you, but I thinke it will not conduce to your purpose, hee having bin only at Hull, as I conceive, and not at Newcastle, where, I suppose, Mr Deerings ships are.

I am, your affectionate humble Servant,

W. COVENTRY.

According to the hopes there may be of having the ships ready, which are building at or neere Bristoll, so must there be provision made of victualls for them at Bristoll, and not at Milford; that soe noe time may bee lost to run from one port to another for victualls. Pray know by what time each contract-ship building may be ready, and send mee word how many ships we expect to bee built in all, for I think some were ordered and others forbid after I went to sea.

Sir W^m Penn hath sent mee reasons which seeme to me of good force, for paying the Soveraigne by ticketts, rather than by a pay at Chatham. I hope the Board will think so.

B.L. orig.]

William, Lord Brouncker, to S. Pepys.

Chatham, 3d July, 1667.

Sir — Not only, in my opinion, is the chain broke, but, in the opinion of, I think, all who have been with me there at any time, and have well considered the lyeing of the floots, whereof but three at most remain. And hitherto wee could do no more than guesse, because yet wee could nether spare hands nor lighter to underrun it: but now I entend to remove it as high as the battery next below the castle, and place before, that is, below it, a boome of masts; which done, I will trye the force thereof with the Guilder de Rose, which was never done at Gillingham; nor was it laid, as is said, above two or three dayes before the enemy appear'd; nor was it made of Spanish iron.

I found in my chamber an Indian staffe, which I suppos'd was yours, and therefore sent it you yesterday by M^{rs} Williams, who came hither the day before to give me a visit. Adieu!

I am, &c.

BROUNCKER.

B.L. orig.]

John Evelyn to S. Pepys.

Sayes-Court, 20th January — 67-8.

Sir — I am heartily asham'd I could not performe your commands before now. It was Friday ere I could possibly get

home; and, since I am here, I have ben so ill, that I was not able to bestow the paines I intended on the scheme¹ I send you, which will onely serve you to preserve our reproach in memory, and my little skill in designing: but I have done it as I could, and as it appear'd to me from the hill above Gillingham. The draught, which I follow for Chatham River, is from an old paper lying by me, and not from any printed map; and some of the flexures I have presumed to reforme, as I think at least, as the river then presented itself to my eye. You must excuse the defects of,

Sir, your most humble servant,

J. EVELYN.

The extreame whiteness of my ink also deceived me.

C.]

S. Pepys to John Evelyn.

8th February, 1667-8.

Sir — You will not wonder at the backwardness of my thanks for the present you made me, so many days since, of the Prospect of Medway, while the Hollander rode master in it, when I have seriously told you that the sight of it hath led me to such reflections on my particular interest, by my employment, in the reproach due to that miscarriage, as have given me little less disquiet than he is fancied to have, who found his face in Michael Angelo's Hell.² The same should serve me also, in

¹ See the engraving, taken from the original sketch in the Bodleian Library.

² Vasari (vol. xiv. p. 165, ed. Milano, 1811) relates that Michael Angelo, being much displeased by the remarks made by Biagio da Cesena, Master of the Ceremonies, on the nudities of the Last Judgment, then nearly completed, painted him as Minos, with a great tail coiled round his body. Messer Biagio complained to the Pope (Paul III.), asking for redress. His Holiness inquired where he was represented. The other replied, "In Hell." "Ah," said the Pope, "if you were only in Purgatory I might help you, but in Hell *nulla est redemptio!*" This is evidently the story mentioned by Pepys. In the same spirit Kneller, in painting the staircase at Hanbury, drew a likeness of Dr. Sacheverell, as being carried off by one of the furies. — See Nash's *Worcestershire*, vol. i. p. 548.

excuse for my silence in the celebrating your mastery shown in the design and draught, did not indignation rather than courtship urge me so far to commend them, as to wish the furniture of our House of Lords changed from the story of 88¹ to that of 67 (of Evelyn's designing), till the pravity of this were reformed to the temper of that age, wherein God Almighty found his blessing more operative than, I fear, he doth in our's, his judgments. Adieu!

Your most affectionate and most humble Servant,
S. P.

C.]

S. Pepys to the Earl of Sandwich.

29th September, 1668.

May it please your Lordship—Just now are arrived the tidings of your Lordship's safe arrival at Portsmouth, which I beg your Lordship to believe me to receive with that welcome-ness which is due to whatever, by the greatest obligations of duty and gratitude, I ought most to be concerned for. I am not without hopes of getting leave to wait upon your Lordship before you reach London; therefore shall spare the troubling your Lordship with any other present matters, than that being yesterday made acquainted by my Lord of Hinchinbroke, and Mr. Sidney Montagu, with the straights they found themselves under of providing a sum of money for the answering your Lordship's present occasions; and, being unwilling your Lordship should want what part thereof I could by any shift supply, I undertook, for the present, furnishing your Lordship with 500*l.*; and not knowing what present use thereof your Lordship might have at Portsmouth, nor what conveniences my Lord of Hinchinbroke might have of a speedy remitting any thither, I acquainted his Lordship this night, that I would take care for your Lordship's being furnished with 200*l.* there; which I have done by the enclosed bill to Mr. Salisbury, not only for

¹ The tapestry representing the defeat of the Armada, destroyed when the House of Lords was burnt. The designs are preserved in Pyne's engravings.

that sum, but that your Lordship might be the less straightened, for the whole 500*l.*: though the more your Lordship leaves to receive here, the better it would suit with my occasions to comply therewith.

I shall need not to say any thing particularly touching the healthful state of your Lordship's family, believing that that will be abundantly told your Lordship by others. The freshest Court news is, that Sir John Trevor was this day sworn Secretary of State in the room of Sir William Morrice, and Prince Rupert invested in the Constableness of Windsor Castle; both purchased: the former for 8,000*l.*, and latter for 3,500*l.*

The King and Queen are at this time at supper at my Lady Carteret's. To-morrow morning his Majesty and the Duke of York set out for a month's progress towards Norfolk and Suffolk.

I have written to Mr. Deane, his Majesty's shipwright at Portsmouth, an ingenious as well as a sober man, to attend your Lordship, for the receiving your commands and any thing wherein he may be serviceable to your Lordship during your stay there, who I know will readily embrace them. So, with the tenders of my most humble duty to your Lordship, I take my leave.

May it please your Lordship, your Lordship's most obedient and faithful Servant,

S. P.

The ill state of my eyes has not allowed me to read or write thus much for several months, but by the help of another's, which, I hope, will excuse me to your Lordship, in my not appearing with my own hand here.

C.]

S. Pepys to Captain Thomas Elliott,

One of the Bailiffs at Aldborough.

Aldborough, July 1, 1669.

Captain Elliot — Upon the late arrival of the news of Sir Robert Brookes's death, who served as one of the Burgesses

for the town of Aldborough, his R. H. was pleased, upon considerations of his own, to command me to endeavour after the procurement of the election of myself into this vacancy, an honour which I should not of myself have pretended to, as among other reasons, so in particular from my being wholly a stranger to that corporation. But his R. H. having been thus pleased to think upon me, with a resolution of engaging his whole interest in the accomplishing of it, I think it my duty to obey him therein; and, in order thereto, to direct my first applications to yourself, whom his R. H. is pleased to pitch upon, as one of whose endeavours in the promoting of all, his Highness rests most assured: and in an especial manner relies upon your capacity and influence for doing the same in this particular. The inclosed will deliver you his Highness's mind under his own hand; and more particularly by another from Mr. Wren, to which I must be referred, having never yet had the good fortune of serving you in any thing that might oblige you to the exercise of your interest and kindness in my behalf. But as your favour herein will be very acceptable to his R. H., so will it engage, not only myself singly, but the whole body of this Office, upon all future occasions, to press their sense of your kindness shown to one of its members. Besides, that if his Highness's desire herein do succeed, I do not despair of having opportunity of showing myself a faithful and useful servant to the corporation. I shall not think it needful to offer you any advice touching the method of your proceedings, but submit the whole to your prudence: and I pray you to believe, that I will see you fully and thankfully reimbursed for what charges shall attend the same; and pray that you will please to give me a speedy account of your thoughts and advice how his R. H.'s influence, or any other recommendation, may be most advantageously employed and directed for the obtaining of these our desires.

This is all the trouble you shall at present receive from
your most affect. friend and humble servt.,

S. P.

C.]

The Duke of York to Lord Henry Howard.

July 10, 1669.

My Lord Howard — I receive with very great kindness your answer to my late request about Mr. Pepys, it being such as gives me not only assurance of your respects to me in general, but grounds of expecting a good issue to my desire, by the assistance of your interest in this particular; though Mr. Duke is not likely to contribute any thing to it. I shall make such use of the blank you entrust me with to the town, as you shall be well satisfied with; and, being very sensible of the readiness with which you have obliged me in this matter,

Remain your affectionate friend,

JAMES.

For my Lord Howard.

C.]

The Duke of York to the Town of Aldborough in Suffolk.

July 16, 1669.

Gentlemen — Being informed of the death of Sir Robert Brookes, who served in Parliament as one of the Burgesses of your Corporation, I recommend to your favour, in your future election, Samuel Pepys, Esq., one of the Commissioners of the Navy, who, besides his general qualifications for that trust, will, I assure myself, be found on all occasions a useful servant to your town: and what kindness he shall receive from you in this matter, I shall esteem as a testimony of your respect to me.

I am, your loving friend,

JAMES.

U. orig].

S. Pepys to John Evelyn.

Navy Office, November 2, 1669.

Sir — I beg you to believe that I would not have been ten days returned into England without waiting on you, had it not

pleased God to afflict mee by the sickness of my wife, who, from the first day of her coming back to London, hath layn under a fever so severe, as at this hour to render her recoverie desperate; which affliction hath very much unfitted me for those acts of civilitie and respect which, amongst the first of my friends, I should have paid to yourselfe, as he to whom singly I owe y^e much greater part of y^e satisfaction I have met with in my late voyage. Next to you, I have my acknowledgm^{ts} to make to S^r Samuel Tuke, to whom, when in a condition of doing it, I shall beg your introducing me, for the owning of my obligations to him on the like behalfe. But, S^r, I beg you heartilie to dispense with the ceremonie, till I am better qualified for paying it; and in y^e mean time receive the enclosed, which I would with much more satisfaction have delivered with my owne hand.

I am, Sir, your most obliged and obedient Serv^t,
S. PEPYS.

I most humbly kiss your ladies hands, and pray my service may be presented to S^r Rich^d Browne.

C.]

S. Pepys to Captain Elliott, at Aldborough.

March 3d, 1669-70.

Captain Elliott — I beg you earnestly to believe that nothing but the sorrow and distraction I have been in by the death of my wife, increased by the suddenness with which it pleased God to surprise me therewith, after a voyage so full of health and content, could have forced me to so long a neglect of my private concernments; this being, I do assure you, the very first day that my affliction, together with my daily attendance on other public occasions of his Majesty's, has suffered me to apply myself to the considering any part of my private concernments; among which, that of my doing right to you is no small particular: and therefore, as your charity will, I hope, excuse me for my not doing it sooner, so I pray you to accept now, as late as it is, my hearty thanks for your multiplied kind-

ness in my late affair at Aldborough;¹ and in particular, your courteous providing of your own house for my reception, had I come down; the entertainment you were also pleased to prepare for me, together with your other great pains and charges in the preserving that interest which you had gained, in reference to his Royal Highness's and my Lord Howard's desire on my behalf: in all which I can give you good assurance, that not only his Royal Highness retains a thankful memory of your endeavours to serve him, but I shall take upon me the preserving it so with him, that it may be useful to you when you shall have any occasion for asking his favour. The like I dare promise you from my Lord Howard, when he shall return; and both from them and myself make this kindness of yours, and the rest of those gentlemen of the town who were pleased to concur with you, as advantageous both to yourself and them, and to the Corporation also, as if the business had succeeded to the best of our wishes: and this I assure you, whether I shall ever hereafter have the honour of serving them in Parliament or not, having no reason to receive any thing with dissatisfaction in this whole matter, saving the particular disrespect which our noble master, the Duke of York, suffered from the beginning to the end, from Mr. Duke and Captain Shippman, who, I doubt not, may meet with a time of seeing their error therein. But I am extremely ashamed to find myself so much outdone by you in kindness, by your not suffering me to know the expense which this business has occasioned you; which I again entreat you to let me do, esteeming your pains, without that of your charge, an obligation greater than I can foresee opportunity of requiting, though I shall by no means omit to endeavour it. So with a repetition of my hearty acknowledgments of all your kindness, with my service to yourself and lady, and all my worthy friends about you,

I remain, your obliged friend and humble servant,

S. P.

¹ His unsuccessful election contest.

U. orig.]

S. Pepys to Sir R. Brown.

Navy Office, March 26, 1670.

Honoured Sr—I have a suddaine occasion offered me of askeing your friendshipp, as well as a full assurance that I shalle not want it. Tis this: Mr Ascew, Clerk of Trinity-house, is dead. I have a brother of my own (John Pepys), whose relation to me could not tempt me to this motion, were it not that his sobriety, diligence and education, being a scholer, and I think in every respect qualified for the employment, in a very different proportion to what Mr. Ascew's education could render him, doth leade me to think it a service to y^e Corporation to offer him to them.¹ I ayme not soe much at y^e sallarie for him, as the opportunitie, by this meanes, of introducing him to that sort of business for which I have for some time designed him. He is about thirty years of age, unmarried; his life that of a Scholar's, as, having resided in the Universitie till, having past three or four yeares Master of Arts, I called him thence some time since to my owne tuition, and that acquaintance with business which my trade could lead him to. Now, Sr, knowing your influence upon the Society of Trinity-House, I pray you soe far to trust my report in this matter, as to thinke it worthy of your countenance by a word or two betweene this and Wednesday next, either to the body of that house, or such members of it as you thinke may be most operative, in conjunction with that assistance which your recommendation shall receive from my Lord Sandwich, Lord Craven, and my brethren of this Office, who have promised me to concern themselves thorowly in y^{is} matter, besides a ltr which his Royal Highness was pleased to give mee on y^e same behalfe.

Your particular favour herein shall be owned with all possible expressions of thankfulness by

Your obedient Servant,

S. PEPYS.

¹ John Pepys got the appointment, and died £300 in debt to the Trinity House, which Samuel Pepys paid.

B.L. orig.]

Matthew Wren to S. Pepys.

November 9th, 1670.

Sir — His Majesty, having accidentally heard of some dispute between you and the Resident of Sweden,¹ to prevent any further inconvenience that may happen, has, by my Lord Arlington, Principal Secretary of State, signified his pleasure to me to require you neither to send any challenge to the said Resident of Sweden, nor to accept of any from him; but that, as soon as you receive this, you immediately attend the Lord Arlington.

I am, your most humble Servant,

M. WREN.

B.L. orig.]

H. Savile to S. Pepys.

Burlington Bay, Prince, August 14, 1672.

Sir — His Royal Highness has commanded me to write to you to send away, with all possible dispatch, to Southwold Bay, the chaloupe that hee ordered should bee made for Mons^r le Comte d'Estrées, that hee may have it ready for him when wee are there, which wee shall bee in a very little time, if his Highness's resolutions are not prevented by ill weather, or some other unavoideble accidents.

Hee has farther ordered mee to acquaint you that, upon a report wee have heer, that Sir Rob. Paston² is to bee called to the House of Lords, he spoake to my Lord Harry Howard that you might be Burgesse of Rising, which his Lordship has very willingly consented to, both out of obedience to the Duke's commands, and out of kindnesse to you; and, therefore, it will bee your part to watche Sir Robert's promotion, and inquire into the truth of it, and acquaint my Lord H. Howard with it. I hope you have receaved the letter I sent you by the Duke's command, to assure you of the care hee will take in your owne

¹ See note, 26th Nov., 1660.

² He was created Lord Paston and Viscount Yarmouth, 19th Aug., 1673, Earl of Yarmouth, 30th July, 1679.

private affayre, which he mentioned to you the last time you were with him. I heartily wishe that, during the short time of my being in office, some opportunity would happen of showing you with how much truth I am,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

HEN. SAVILE.

B.L. orig.]

B. St. Michel to S. Pepys.

Deale, August 14, 1672.

Hon^d. Sir — You dayly and howerly soe comble me with, not only expressions, but allsoe deeds of your worthyness and goodness, as well to my selfe as the rest of your most devoted humble creaturs heare, that I am as well as my poor drooping mother, whoose continuall illness, since the death of my father, gives me but litell hopes shee will survive him longe, only but to be something longer a living wittness of your dearness to her poore childe, your late deare consort, my beloved sister, by that your noble, worthy, and kinde expresions, and promices to be still her benefactor; for which shee hath only, saith shee, the capacity left her to bless God for your prosperity, and to continue still her prayers to the Almighty God to power upon you and yours multitude of heavenly blessings: these, Sir, are her own expresions, and I am sure, from the very botome of her harte and sowle. I am then, Sir, as I said, confuted in my selfe how I may ever strive to deserve the least of those your manyfould, gracious, good, kinde, fatherly, and deare, not only expressions, but effects, which I for ever shall owne.

Well, Sir, since I fear it will never lye in my power to serve you as I ought, without devoteing my life and fortunes at your feet, be pleased to accept and comande both upon all occasions, which you will find with soe much zeale still, for you and your cause, that never man living will ever be named more gratefull, as I am in duty bounde, to your favours, and more zealous for your consernes and interest, than him, who is proude to be, Sir

Your most faithfull and obedient humble Serv^t,

B. ST MICHEL.

Litell Samuel, whoe speakes now very pretely, desiers to have his most humble duty presented to his most honrd Uncle and Godfather, which please to accept from your most humble litell disiple.

This day the Dragon is come into the Downes, which, to-moroe, God willing, I intend to muster. Pray present my most kinde and humble service to my cosen John Pepys.

B. ST M.

B.L. orig.]

T. Povy to S. Pepys.

August 31, 1672.

Sir — I had this morning full discourse with the Lord Howard, who was telling mee how hee finds himself oppressed with his prerogative of recommending on elections; and how hee stands engaged to the King for Sir Francis North, to the Duchess of Cleveland for Sir John Trevor, hir councill and feoffee, and to the Duke for you; telling me by what circumstances the Duke attacked him: and I find not that hee hath any hesitation in the complying with the Duke on your behalf; though hee bee in much distraction how hee shall accommodate the other 2 persons. The present expedient is the putting what interests and force hee can for the getting the Solicitor elected at Lyn. Yet in that particular hee conflicts with a great dilemma; because Cook, a youth of the principall estate in Norfolk, stands at Lyn, and his Lordship is tender of giving him an opposition there, because the gent. of the countrie doe already murmur at his disposing those places, upon which hee hath a full and perticular influence, upon strangers and courtiers, neglecting gentlemen of the countrie, who hold themselves disoblighd thereby; and are more reasonably, perhaps, dissatisfied, that he concernes himself at Lyn also, where hee ought to leave them to a free competition, without concerning himself.

I took noe notice that I had heard any thing of his concession to the Duke: but my advice is, that you goe on Monday to give him a visitt to Arundell House, where I am sure you will not find him; but you are to see the porter, to write down

your name, and not forget the acquainting his Lordship that you were to waite on him. Hee goes on Monday into Surrey, to return on Tuesday; and perhaps to goe with the King on Wensday to the Fleet, where hee will receive your letter. It is not doubted but Sir Robert¹ will have his promised title, though I cannot yet heare that any thing is done in it. I shall inquire somewhat more closely, and you shall receive what can bee collected by, Sir,

T. POVV.

B.L. orig.]

Sir William Coventry to S. Pepys.

Minster Lovell, June 25, 73.

Sr— You may reasonably imagine, when you see a letter from mee, that it is to congratulate your new employment, which I perswade my selfe you will as easily beleeeve mee to rejoyce at, as any man whatsoever; and should have acquiesced in that perswasion, without giving you the trouble of telling you soe, had I not bin sollicitated by a servant of mine to intreat yr favour to a brother of his, whose name is Robert Krewstubb: my servant tells mee hee hath, during this and the last warre, bin employed as steward in the Navy; his ambition is to become a purser, of which hee doubts not to make his capacity evident, and to give good security. I know you, and the place you execute, too well to thinke it fitt for mee to recommend an unfitt man to you; but if hee appeare fitt for it, I doe very seriously entreat your favour to him. I am very unlikely ever to make you a returne, unlesse you have occasion to keepe a running horse at Burford, in which case I offer you my diligence to overlook him; therefore, you have it in your power to lay an obligation upon mee, without the least prospect of interest to sully it. I wish all you oblige may bee, as much as my selfe, and, if soe, you will be happier than some of your predecessors.

Sir, your aff. humble Servant,

W. COVENTRY.

¹ Sir Robert Paston.

B.L. orig.]

Dr. H. Burton to S. Pepys.

Magdalene College, April 9, 1677.

Sir — The foundation of that building in our College, to which you are pleased to contribute, is now laid, and they begin to want moneys to go on with it. I have said enough to tell you my business, which is to desire you will send yours to Mr William Potts, an apothecary, who lives at the Elephant and Castle, near St. Antholin's Church, in Queen Street, London, who is appointed Receiver in the city.

Sir, I would not have put you to so much trouble, but that indispensable busines has forced me.

Sir, I am,

Your most obliged and humble Servant,

HEZE. BURTON.

C.]

S. Pepys to George, Lord Berkeley.

Derby House, 22d February, 1677-8.

My Lord — I am greatly owing to your Lordship for your last favour at St. John's, and did, till now, reckon myself under no less a debt to my Ladies for the honour at the same time done me, in their commands touching Mr. Bonithan. But, my Lord, I have lately had the misfortune of being undeceived in the latter, by coming to know the severity with which some of my Ladies are pleased to discourse of me in relation thereto. I assure your Lordship, I was so big with the satisfaction of having an opportunity given me by my Ladies at once of obliging them, paying a small respect to you, and doing a good office to a deserving gentleman, that I did not let one day pass before I had bespoke and obtained his Majesty's and Royal Highness's promise of favour in Mr. Bonithan's behalf: and was so far afterwards from failing him in my further assistances with Captain Trevanion and others, that I took early care to secure him a lieutenancy, by a commission actually signed for him by the King, in the ship *Stavereene*, relying upon the

character Captain Trevanion had given me of his capacity to abide the examination, established by the King, upon the promotion of lieutenants; which was not only the most I should have done in the case of a brother, but more than ever I did in any man's case before, or, for his sake, do think I shall ever do again. True it is, my Lord, that when, upon his examination by the officers of the Navy, he was found not so fully qualified for the office of lieutenant as was requisite, I did with all respect, and to his seeming satisfaction, advise him to pass a little longer time in the condition he was then in, under a stricter application of himself to the practice of navigation. And, in pursuance of my duty to the King, I did acquaint him also with Mr. Bonithan's present unreadiness; and had, therefore, a command given me for conferring the commission prepared for him upon another, who, upon examination, at the same time with Mr. Bonithan, was found better qualified for it.¹ As to what I understand my Ladies are pleased to entertain themselves and others with, to my reproach, as if money had been wanting in the case, it is a reproach lost upon me, my Lord, who am known to be so far from needing any purgation in the point of selling places, as never to have taken so much as my fee for a commission or warrant to any one officer in the navy, within the whole time, now near twenty years, that I have had the honour of serving His Majesty therein — a self-denial at this day so little in fashion, and yet so chargeable to maintain, that I take no pride, and as little pleasure, in the mentioning it, further than it happily falls in here to my defence against the mistake the Ladies seem disposed to arraign me by on this occasion. Besides that, in the particular case of this gentleman, Lieut. Beele, who enjoys the commission designed for Mr. Bonithan, he is one whose face I never saw either before or since the time of his receiving it, nor know one friend he has in the world to whom he owes this benefit, other than the King's justice and his own modest

¹ The Report of the Navy Commissioners, certifying Bonithan's insufficiency and Beele's competency to manage a ship, was enclosed in the letter.

merit: which, having said, it remains only that I assure your Lordship what I have so said, is not calculated with any regard to, much less any repining at, the usage the Ladies are pleased to show me in this affair, for 'tis fit I bear it, but to acquit myself to your Lordship in my demeanour toward them, as becomes their and, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

S. P.

B.L.]

Lord Berkeley to S. Pepys.

Berkeley House, February 23, 1677-8.

Good Mr. Pepys — Though I thank you for the favour of your letter, yet I confess myself both much surprised and troubled to receive a letter from you upon such an occasion: so is my wife, who professes herself wholly innocent of any crime of charging you in thought, word, or deed, and hopes you will do her that right to believe so of her. My daughter¹ Berkeley says she expressed some trouble that the friend she recommended had not success, and that she was told the Commissioners of the Navy did report they had given the same recommendations of the person she proposed, as they did of him that was accepted, for the lieutenant's place; which my daughter, supposing to be true, wondered the more he lost the preferment: but, by the copies enclosed in your's, it appears her Ladyship was very much misinformed. As for Mrs. Henrietta,² she is extremely troubled in saying any thing that gave you offence; and, though she did not in the least intend it, yet she begs your pardon. And now, my good friend, though I am not under any accusation, and therefore need not say any thing to vindicate myself, yet give me leave, upon this occasion, to assure you, that there is no person has a better opinion of you than myself, nor is more sensible of your particular civili-

¹ Probably Elizabeth, daughter of Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden, married to Sir Charles Berkeley, K.B., Lord B.'s eldest son.

² Lord Berkeley's youngest daughter, who afterwards eloped with her brother-in-law, Ford, Lord Grey.

ties to me ; which I should be very glad to make a return of when in my power to serve you : and give me leave to add further, without flattery to you, and with great sincerity, that I believe our gracious master, His Majesty, is so fortunate in employing you in his service, that, if he should lose you, it would be very difficult for His Majesty to find a successor so well qualified in all respects for his service, if we consider both your integrity, vast abilities, industry, and zealous affections for his service ; and, if His Majesty were asked the question, I will hold ten to one His Majesty declares himself of my opinion ; so will I believe all that know you, more especially our fellow-traders that are so conversant with you and obliged by you.

This is asserted as a great truth by, Sir,

Your very affectionate and hearty friend and Servant,

BERKELEY.

B.M. orig.]

William Hewer to Sir John Kempthorne, Knt., one of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy, residing at Derby House.

Nov. 19, 1678.

Sir—I have received your's of the 16th inst., for which I return you my very kind thanks, and having very recently acquainted Sir John Biggs of my concerns in Sir Denis Gauden's estate at Clapham, and had Sir Denis Gauden and himself together this afternoon, to discourse the business as to your security for the money due to you from Sir Denis Gauden, I doubt not but that he will give you such satisfaction therein as to my concerns, and the security offered by Sir Denis Gauden, for your satisfaction, as to prevent that trouble between us, which I am of opinion the attorney would engage us in. So that I shall not need to give you any further trouble in the matter, save the referring you to Sir John Briggs, who promised me to give you an account, as well as his opinion, of what has passed between us this day.

Your faithful and humble Servant,

WILLIAM HEWER.

C.]

S. Pepys to Thomas Pepys, of Lynn Regis.

February 1, 1678-9.

Good Cousin — I do kindly thank you for your letter of yesterday, assuring you that I am not surprised, much less under any disappointment from the contents of it; I knowing the world too well to expect more than is to be found in it: and I think mine to you did enough to show you what I asked was rather out of respect to the town of Castle Rising, as having once been their servant,¹ than from any such advantage I propose to myself by it, as would suffer me to give way to your entering upon any expense for it; I having the good fortune of being so much better understood elsewhere, as to have at this time invitations from the magistracy of no less than three² several Corporations of somewhat greater names, though not more in my esteem than that of theirs, to accept of their elections. Therefore, pray be under no further care on my behalf in this matter; the satisfaction of having discharged my duty to the gentlemen of Castle Rising being all I aim at, without troubling myself to reflect upon any forgetfulness on their parts towards me. As for those two worthy persons who now stand for their favours, Sir Robert Howard and Sir John Baber, they are both my honoured friends,³ and as far as any interest of mine can bestead them, I do readily resign it to them.

And for the kindness I have received on this occasion from yourself, I shall always most thankfully own it by whatever testimony thereof I may be able to give, by suitable services to you and your family, remaining

Your truly affectionate kinsman and humble Servant,

S. P.

¹ In the preceding Parliament.

² The three Corporations were, Portsmouth; one of the Isle of Wight boroughs, of which Sir Robert Holmes was patron; and Harwich, for which Pepys was returned.

³ The two candidates, *Pepys's honoured friends*, were at the very time occupied in raising a *No Popery cry* against him, at Castle Rising. — *M.S., Pepys's Letters.*

C.]

S. Pepys to Col. Legge, at Portsmouth.

13th February, 1678-9, at night.

Sir — Since I wrote to you by express, His R. H. being then abroad a-hunting, I have had opportunities to attend him with an account of yours to me this morning, and mine since to you, with His Majesty's and my Lord Treasurer's commands touching Sir John Ernle,¹ who I now understand from His R. H. is in town, and has spoken to His R. H. concerning this matter; and received for answer what by the Duke's command I have now to acquaint you with; which is, that Colonel Norton having, as you write, finally declined standing for the town,² resolving to apply himself for Knight of the Shire, His R. H. does think it of great moment to His Majesty that Sir John Ernle be provided for, and that therefore all endeavours be used by Sir John Kempthorne, declining it; and otherwise that Sir John Ernle be chosen, in company with you, for that place. Which leaving with you by the Duke's command,

I remain, your most humble Servant,

S. P.

C.]

The Earl of Danby to Col. Legge.

(Transmitted through Mr. Pepys.)

London, 13th February, 1678-9.

Sir — Mr. Pepys being returned to town, His Majesty has commanded him to do all he can for the election of Sir John Ernle at Portsmouth; and hearing that Sir John Kempthorne designs to stand, the King has enjoined Mr. Pepys to let him know, in his name, that he would have him to decline it himself, and to assist Mr. Chancellor, who is likely to be so necessary to his Majesty this Parliament, that he cannot want his service in the House. As he has laid his commands himself

¹ He was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

² Of Portsmouth.

upon Mr. Pepys in this manner, so His Majesty has ordered me to signify this his pleasure to you, and to let you know that his service is so much concerned in it, that he would have you leave nothing undone that is in your power, for the obtaining that election for him.¹

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
DANBY.

B.L. orig.]

Sir Leoline Jenkins to S. Pepys.

February 24, 1678-9.

Sir—Nothing in the world could be more kind nor more generous than your letter of the 13th, by the yacht. The prospect that you and I had of embracing one another is now vanished; but no distance of time or place shall in the least diminish that faithfull cordiall respect I have for your person, and that very high esteem I have for your merits. If there was any honour or new employment designed for me, when I was so suddenly called home, I'll take leave to tell it in your bosome, that I bless God with all my soule that it is otherwise disposed of; for I have had enough of this world; God give me grace to prepare for another! 'Tis true I am now putt upon a new commission, which, God knows, is a grief to me, and should never be my choice, if it were in my power. However, his Royal Highness may render it as easy as 'tis, in the present circumstances, capable of being to an honest man, that cannot but be, at such a time as this, full of anguishes for his King and his Country. I beg your favor in delivering the enclosed to His Royal Highness: 'tis to petition him to that effect. I pray pardon me this boldnesse, and be pleas'd to believe that I am, with perfect truth,

Sir,

Your most humble and most faithful servant,

L. JENKINS.

¹ In spite of this interference Sir John Kempthorne was returned.

C.]

The Duke of York to S. Pepys.

Hague, April 24, 1679.

The place that I came from afforded so little news, that it was not at all necessary for me to write to you, only to let you know I had received yours, in which you gave me an account of the loss of the Marigold prize at Tangier. I hope we shall now soon hear of the arrival of Sir J. Narborough; for then we shall have some more strength at home, though not so much as I think ought to be at sea, considering the ships they say the French are fitting out. This goes to you by my page, Mr. Hickman, who, I desire, may go a volunteer in one of the convoys for Newfoundland; and if Captain Lloyd be one, that he may go with him; which is all I shall now say, but that you shall always find me the same to you.

JAMES.

C.]

The Duke of York to S. Pepys.

Hague, April 25, 1679.

I would not let this bearer, Captain Sanders, go, without writing to you by him, to let you know that I stopped him when he came to Antwerp, intending to have come hither in him; but, by the negligence of our pilot, we came on ground near Bergen-op-Zoom, so that I was forced to go on board the Dutch yacht; but did not stir from thence till we got him off. She is now at Helveotsluys; and, if this wind continue, will soon be at Greenwich. I do intend to go to-morrow to Amsterdam; my chief business is to see the ships and magazines there. I design to be back on Friday, and the next week to return to Brussels. I long to hear of Sir J. Narborough's being arrived with you, for one does not know what may happen as to France. I wish things may go, where you are, as they ought; and be assured you shall find me as kind to you as ever.

JAMES.

C.]

S. Pepys to the Duke of York.

Derby-House, May 6, 1679.

May it please your Royal Highness — I acknowledge with all humility and thankfulness, the honour of your Highness's letters of the 24th and 25th of the last, and do, with equal shame and grief, observe how much your Highness's solicitude, even at this distance, for the security of this kingdom against the power of France, does exceed all that we ourselves have yet expressed upon that subject, otherwise than by a general but inactive restlessness under our apprehensions of the danger; but without any alteration made, since your Royal Highness's departure, in the state of our ships or coasts, other than what is consequential to their having lain so much longer neglected. Sir John Narborough's last letters were of the 7th and 17th of March, from Alicant, where, having newly met with his Majesty's orders for his coming home, after a short visit to Algiers, he therein told me he would accordingly proceed forthwith to Port Mahon, for the settling some matters in that place, and from thence to Algiers; so as to be at Tangier, in his way homeward, about the 7th of April. Since which, though we have wanted advice from him wholly, yet, by a letter I have seen from a slave at Algier, of the 1st of April, it appears that he came before that town the 25th, and departed the 29th of March, after having sent two of his captains ashore to treat of a peace, but without effect. This only is added by the slave, that, had Sir John Narborough staid one day more in the road, those of Algiers had certainly made a peace with him, that Government having, it seems, afterwards expressed some trouble that it was not done; by which calculation of time we may now, from day to day, expect his being there.

I have remembered your Highness's command in reference to Captain Lloyd's being appointed one of the Newfoundland convoys, which his Majesty has been pleased to agree to, in company with Captain Talbot, in the *Mary Rose*, Captain Priestman, in the *Antelope*, and Captain Kempthorne, in the

Dover, and will take care that Mr. Hickman be entertained as a volunteer with Captain Lloyd. How his Majesty has been pleased, among his other great changes, to dispose of the Admiralty, by a new Commission to these gentlemen, viz., Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Dan Finch, Sir Tho. Ley, Sir Thomas Meres, Mr. Vaughan, Sir Hum. Winch, and Mr. Hales, of Kent, your Highness, I doubt not, has many days since known; nor shall I think it becoming me to interpose any thoughts of mine touching his Majesty's choice therein, more than for his, and his service's sake, I could wish his naval arrangements to be such as for a time might allow these worthy gentlemen opportunity of being informed in the work of their great office, before they be urged to much execution in it. And this I am the bolder in wishing, since they have taken upon themselves the performance of that branch of the Admiral's task which his Majesty was pleased, for the ease of his last Commissioners, to reserve the trouble of to himself, namely, the issuing all sailing instructions to his fleet and ships; his Majesty having, at the instance of these gentlemen, put that part also in their hands, together with the granting of all officers in the navy, in the same manner as it has at any time been exercised by the Lords Admirals of England.

For what concerns my own particular, your Highness was pleased to foretell me, at your going hence, what I was soon after to look for; and it is come to pass. For whether I will or no, a Papist I must be, because favoured by your Royal Highness, and found endeavouring, on all fitting occasions, to express, in the best manner I can, the duty and gratitude due to your Highness from me. But how injuriously soever some would make those just endeavours of mine towards your Highness inconsistent with Protestancy, neither they, nor any ill usage I can receive from them, shall, by the grace of God, make me any more quit the one, than I suspect your Royal Highness will ever take offence at my perseverance in the other. His Majesty is, indeed, pleased to express a much more favourable opinion of me, and my slender qualifications for his service, than I dare own my right to; and, as an

instance thereof, has not spared to tell me how much weight he is pleased to place upon my experience in the Navy, for supplying, by my Secretaryship, what his present choice of Commissioners may possibly be found less perfect in: nor shall I think it becoming me to dispute the giving his Majesty my service on whatever terms he shall think fit to require it from me.

But, as your Royal Highness well knows how far I had, not long since, made it my humble motion, and pressed it upon your favour, that after almost twenty years' continued drudgery in the Navy, to the rendering myself almost blind, and otherwise disabled in health to support it much longer, his Majesty would be pleased to take the residue of my small service by admitting me into the Commission of the Admiralty: so truly, Sir, I have now, upon other considerations purely relative to his service, made the same motion to the King, upon occasion of this change. For if I was truly conscious of being become less able to bear the fatigue of my office any longer, under a Commission that had many members of it competently furnished for its execution, besides the easy and helpful recourse I had at all times had to his Majesty himself, and your Royal Highness, in matters needing it, and those, as old a Navy-man as I am, not a few, how much less fit ought I to think myself to go through this task, when, not only stripped of all those helps, but, to say no worse, charged with a new piece of duty, and that not a little one, of informing those who should inform and are to command me; and I to remain accountable for all the ill success that should attend my obeying those commands, though probably differing from my own advice. Besides, however fairly some of these gentlemen seemed disposed towards my continuance in this Secretaryship, yet that compliance of theirs I well know to be grounded upon some opinion they have of the necessaryness of my service to them till they have obtained a stock of knowledge of their own; and then farewell! But others there be, with whom your Royal Highness knows, (what converts soever they are now to be thought!) I have for many years lived in a constant state of war, they censuring, and

I defending, the management of the navy; and with such success on the navy's side, as to have always met with too great an appearance of His Majesty's well accepting my humble endeavours therein, that, however our conjunction may now succeed in reference to His Majesty's service, I should not promise myself any satisfaction from them, especially upon terms so unequal, as my being brought down to be a servant to them, when the dignity of the trust I have so long had the honour of serving His Majesty in, might, I hope, be thought to have set me upon a level with them. Whereto I have humbly to add, what some have not spared publicly to let fly in opposition to my continuance in this office, namely, that so long as Mr. Pepys should be there, his Royal Highness remains in effect Admiral. In which, though they do me a much greater honour than either I deserve, or their malignity intends me, yet, Sir, I cannot but so far consider the importance of having all rubs removed, which may be either of impediment to the happy going on of this great part of the King's service, or give any unnecessary occasion of keeping alive the jealousies touching your Royal Highness, that if His Majesty may as well secure to himself the full use of my service, and your Royal Highness receive no less content from my being in the Commission than in my present post, which you were pleased, upon my former motion to that purpose, to express your well-liking of, I see no inconvenience, but to myself, likely to arise from His Majesty's giving them the satisfaction of his withdrawing me from this odious Secretaryship; I being for these reasons not only contented to submit to, but desire it, and shall be most ready to give my assistance in this Commission with the same faithfulness and industry, though not with the same private satisfaction, wherewith I ought, and should, were your Royal Highness at the head of it. Which having said, I make it my humble prayer to your Royal Highness to interpret with your usual justice my deliberation upon this subject, pardoning ought that shall happen not to find your full liking, as being designed most entirely for the benefit of His Majesty's service. But if it shall be my better fortune to meet with your Royal High-

ness's approbation in what I have here humbly offered, I then make it my suit to your Royal Highness, that you will be pleased to consider how far it may be fit for your Royal Highness to enforce from yourself this my humble proposal to His Majesty, for my being transferred from the Secretaryship into the Commission; your Royal Highness well knowing, that, however bounteous you have always been to me in your frequent callings on me, to the improvement of your favours to my benefit with His Majesty, I have never to this day done it to the obtaining sixpence from the Crown by any boon extraordinary beyond the plain allowance of my office, and not that neither; yet by much more than all I have else reserved in the world to depend upon, as your Highness was pleased to be informed from me by particulars, and from you the King, just before your going. So as, while the sincerity of my wishes for the weal of his service prompts me to this voluntary divesting myself of my present employment, I should be in very ill condition to bear its not being made up to me by His Majesty granting, for his service's sake, as well as in justice to your Royal Highness's mediation, and his own promises in my favour, the latter part of my motion for his placing me in the Commission, or at least making some other provision for me as one superannuated in his service.

Wherein, nevertheless, submitting myself still to your Royal Highness's disposal, and beseeching Almighty God to put some timely bounds to your misfortunes, whatever becomes of mine, I, in all humility, remain,

May it please your Royal Highness,
Your Royal Highness's most obedient
and most dutiful Servant,

S. P.

C.]

The Duke of York to S. Pepys.

Bruxelles, May 23, 1679.

Yours, by Captain Sanders, I received yesterday morning, and look on what you propose as so reasonable, that I send

you here enclosed a letter to His Majesty as you desired, and send it with a flying seal, that you may read it before you deliver it to see how you like it; and truly I hope His Majesty will do it; I am sure he ought, and it will do more good to reward one old servant than to take off twenty mutineers. I have not time to say more, but that you shall always find me firm to you.

JAMES.

C.]

The Duke of York to the King.

Bruxelles, May 22, 1679.

I hope your Majesty will pardon me for writing to you in behalf of an old servant of yours in the Navy, that has long and faithfully served you. It is Mr. Pepys, who now, upon this change in the Admiralty, is like to suffer, without your Majesty's favour; and truly, I think, should he be quite laid aside, I believe the service there would not be so well carried on, and those who are named to be Commissioners of the Admiralty, though in other affairs they are very able men, yet must needs be very raw in that, and will want one amongst them that understands it; therefore, what I have humbly to offer to your Majesty in Mr. Pepys's behalf is, that you will be pleased to add him to that Commission, and let him be one of their number. Sure none can find fault with your Majesty's doing it for him, when they consider his long service in the Navy, and that you do it for him as a recompence to him for all his services. And besides, I think it very necessary for your service always, and the easiest and less chargeable way of doing something for him that can be thought on; for give me leave to say, your Majesty is bound to do something for him that has spent so many years in your service to your satisfaction. Pray, Sir, pardon me for being earnest in this affair; I can never help being so where I think your honour concerned, and I wish all your subjects were as true Englishmen, and as dutiful and loyal as I am, and shall ever be.

JAMES.

C.]

S. Pepys to the Duke of York.

Tower, June 9, 1679.

May it please your Royal Highness — I should not have thought it in any wise becoming me to trouble your Royal Highness with the notice of anything relating to the present difficulties I lie under, otherwise than as they serve for the necessary excuse of my no earlier owning the favour of your Royal Highness's, by Captain Sanders, which found me in the custody, under which I, with Sir Anthony Deane, do now remain, upon no less suggestions than those of popery, felony, piracy, and treason, but so grounded as to render it hard for me to tell your Royal Highness which of the two enjoys the greater pleasure: whether Mr. Harbord in public, from the contemplation of the conquest his malice has obtained over me, or I in private, from what my innocence tells me I shall, some time or other, if any justice may be hoped for, obtain against him. Hardships, however, I do and shall suffer contentedly; and the more in that I had the honour of having my duty to your Royal Highness assigned for the real cause of what my adversaries are pleased artificially to pretend, of Popery, and other like chimeras: for begging your Royal Highness to believe that, as your Royal Highness shall never receive any dishonour from the favour you have been observed to incline towards me, so neither shall any of the hard usages which the malignity of some, or want of information in others, can subject me to, render me either less zealous in my duty and allegiance to my Royal Master, or less forward in the payment of that gratitude, which even that Protestancy of mine the world would be thought so doubtful of, exacts from me towards your Highness, and shall have it to the last point of my fortune and life. For what concerns your Royal Highness's particular goodness to me, in your late letter to His Majesty, the condition I am in puts it out of my power to apply it to my benefit; but not so as to make me any thing doubtful of the fruits of it in His Majesty's justice, so soon as the justice I am waiting for from lower hands shall

put me into a capacity of asking it. Towards which, referring your Royal Highness in all humility to Sir John Werden for some particulars, wherein your present aid and direction may be of instant benefit to me under my present misfortune,

I pray God protect Your and Her Royal
Highness, and am, &c.,
S. P.

B.L. orig.]

J. Maulyverer to S. Pepys.

(Magdalene College, Cambridge,) Nov. xxix., 1679.

Honrd Sir — This is to return the humble thankses of our whole Society, and particularly myne owne, for the great favour and kindenes with which you have been pleas'd to oblige us. The money, indeed, was, by the bond, payable the last Michaelmas was twelve-moneths, so that you might justly have expected to have heard from us about it before this time. We do beg your pardon for this neglect, and shall allwayes acknowledge ourselves endebted to you for this and all your other charitable remembrances of Magdalene College. We hope to be able to pay you in a short time, and therefore desire to know when you will be pleas'd to call for it in. We had made a tender of it before this time, had not some of our benefactours been very slow in paying their subscriptions. We have not yet finished the inside, and I know not when we shall; however, we will rather let it stand unfinished than suffer our just debts to be unpay'd. Humble service from the Master and Fellows concludes this, from,

Sir, Yours, &c.,

JOH. MAULYVERER.

B.L. orig.]

Dr. Peachell¹ to S. Pepys.

Magdalene College, Cambridge, Jan. 11th, 80-81.

Honour'd Sir — After I bid you good night in Cheapside, y^e 13th day of 10^{ber}, I staid in London a fortnight, but was so

¹ For an account of Dr. Peachell, see note, Aug. 3, 1661.

tender, and had so much adoe to preserve my health, that I was prevented in some measure in the pursuit of my businesse; and particularly in taking that decent and respectable leave of my friends which I thought was requisite, which makes me give you the trouble of this missive, on purpose to acknowledge my own and the Colledge's great obligations to you. I hope to have some good view of our concerne by next Easter Terme; and, if the Parliament give His Majesty money, I doubt not but our friends will be the more free to supply us. Although it be counted even Popery, yet I cannot but pray God to preserve us from the tumults, confusions, and rebellion of 1641 and 42, which seeme to threaten us on one hand, as much as Popery on the other. I feare God hath a controversy still with the land: but I will not preach, onely pray for your health and happinesse, and rest,

Sr, your much obliged Serv^t,

J. PEACHELL.

B.L.]

S. Pepys to his cousin Roger Pepys.

March 26, 1681.

Honoured Cousin — This comes to kiss your hands, and my cousin your Lady's, with many thanks for her and your last favours at Impington: since which it hath pleased God, by a continued sickness of my Sister's, to prevent my coming to any determination touching my house at Brampton: for that my thoughts therein would be much governed by my having or not having her to reside there, for the better looking after my small affairs, as well as her own, about that place, my dependencies here being still such as will not, I doubt, for some time, give me leisure to retire thither myself; which, as public matters go, without any hopes in my view of their bettering, is the first thing I could wish to compass. But my Sister's illness being become such as our best physicians here, where she has for some months been, can give me no assurance of any speedy recovery, I find it inconvenient for me to delay any longer my taking some resolutions in that matter; and, therefore, remem-

bering, though imperfectly, a motion you were pleased to make to me about this house, when I last waited on you, I thought it becoming me to advertise you so far of it, as may give me the satisfaction of knowing whether, in my proceeding herein, I can have any opportunity of serving you.

I remember, also, the little things you were pleased to bespeak of me — I mean, my model and two pictures: which, however I may happen to dispose of the house, I shall, with great pleasure, make good to you my promise of, by preferring them to a place with you at Impington, whenever a convenience shall offer itself for their conveyance thither. So, with my desires also of understanding how it fares with you in your health, and my cousin's,

I remain both her and your
Most affectionate Kinsman and humble Servant,
S. P.

B.L. orig.]

Cesare Morelli¹ to S. Pepys.

The 11 April, 1681.

Honoured Sir — I did receive your last letter, dated the 9th of these month, with much grief, haveing an account of your painfull feaver: I pray God it will not vex your body too much; and if by chance it should vex you longer, there is here a man that can cure it with simpatheretical power, if you please to send me down the pearings of the nailes of both your hands and your foots, and three locks of hair of the top of your crown. I hope, with the grace of God it will cure you.

As for the compositions of them two masters, in my judgement, though weak, I like better Baptist's works than Pedro's, because Baptist's work masterly, as you shall perceive betwixt their bases. All Baptist's bases are singable, where many of Pedro's are not so. Herewith my humble respects remaine,

Honoured Sir, your most faithfull Serv^t,

CESARE MORELLI.

¹ He appears to have been a music-master. Many of his compositions are preserved in the Pepysian Library.

C.]

The Duke of York to S. Pepys.

Edinburgh, May 21, 1681.

By the last post, I had yours of the 14th, with the copy of the Address which was to be presented by the Trinity House, and never doubted but they would always do their parts as became loyal subjects: and I am sure it will not be your fault if all, where you have any thing to do, do not what becomes them. As for what you propose, for the Commanders and Officers of the Fleet to present such an Address to His Majesty, I do not think it necessary, nor indeed proper, since there can be no doubt of their loyalty; and that it is not necessary or usual for people to doubt of yuch as have such immediate dependance, or are in pay; and I think what has been done by the Trinity House is sufficient for the seamen: I wish all the landmen would do their parts as well. I shall say no more to you now, but to assure you, you shall always find me ready to show you what kindness I can.

Pray send me a copy of the Relation of His Majesty's escape from Worcester; 'tis only for my own satisfaction, and I shall let no copies be taken of it.

JAMES.

B.L. orig.]

Duchess of Norfolk¹ to S. Pepys.

Waybreg, July 15, 81.

Sir—I am encoreged to geve you thes trubell, and beg a favor of you, knoing the regard you ever had for my Lord Duke desest, and his oblegations to you; which is, that you well own, as for yourself, a parsell of Scottch plad of ten or a leven peses, or geve me leve to order them to be dedercted to you, that I may with less trubell com by them; becaus now, in my abcenc, I have letell entreist in town, which is the resen I entrett thes of you: but, if it be the lest enconvenanc to you,

¹ Jane, daughter of Robert Bickerton, second wife of Henry, sixth Duke of Norfolk, described in the Peerage as "a lady famed for her beauty and accomplishments," amongst which orthography, certainly, was not included.

I also beg you frely ancer me so; and, when it coms in my way to serve you, notwithstanding, I shall to my power lett you se I redely wold obleg you to my uttmost power, as

Your Servant, NORFOLKE.

Sr Mills Cooks sonn has promised me to geve thes to your hands.

C. orig.]

John Evelyn to S. Pepys.

Sayes Court, December 6, 1681.

Sir — In consequence of your commands, &c., I have sent you already two large sea-charts, and now, with a third, I transmit the sheets I have long since blotted about the late Dutch war; for which I should yet make another apology, besides its preface, were it not that you well understand the prejudices I lay under at that time, by the inspection of my Lord Treasurer Clifford, who would not endure I should moderate my style when the difference with Holland was to be the subject, nor with much patience suffer that France should be suspected, though in justice to truth, evident as the day, I neither would nor could conceal what all the world must see; how subdolosly they dealt, and made us their property all along. The interception of ¹

letter to his master, p. 260, is abundantly pregnant of this, and ought to open our eyes, unless it be that we design to truckle under that power, and seek our ruin with industry. Sir, you will pardon this severe reflection, since I cannot think of it without emotion. Now, as to the compiler's province, it is not easily to be imagined the sea and ocean of papers, treaties, declarations, relations, letters, and other pieces that I have been obliged to wade through, read over, note, and digest, before I set pen to paper: I confess to you the fatigue was insufferable; and, for the more part, did rather oppress and confound me, than enlighten; so much trash there was to sift and lay by: and I was obliged to peruse all that came to hand; and a

¹ Illegible in the MS.

better judgment than mine had been requisite to elect and dispose the materials that were then apt for use. This, Sir, I dare pronounce you will find before you have prepared all your *materiam abstractam* for the noble and useful work you are meditating.¹ Nor did I desist here, but had likewise made provision for that which was to follow the Treaty of Breda; though I honestly restored every scrip that had been furnished me from the cabinets of the Secretaries, and other persons, which were originals; yet blame myself for returning those letters and pieces I received from my Lord Treasurer, because I think I might have retained them with better confidence than he to carry them away with him into Devonshire, *unde nulli retrorsum*. That I did not proceed with the rest is accountable to his successor,² who, cutting me short of some honest pretensions I had to his kindness more than ordinary, if you knew all, I cared not to oblige an ungrateful age, and perhaps the world is delivered from a fardle of impertinences. Clifford, his predecessor, was, abating his other imperfections, a generous man, friendly to me, and I verily believe of clean hands: I am sure I was obliged to him; the other had been so to me and mine. A haughty spirit is seldom accompanied with generosity; but that is all past. I know it has been wondered upon what pretence I should have sought to sit at the Navy Board; and I have been as much astonished why some Honoraries, who sat long there, were no more industrious or useful than haply I should have been, whilst, to commute for my ignorance of wear and tear, I might yet, perhaps, have been subservient to such a genius as Mr. Pepys; and by his direction and converse, not altogether an unprofitable member. Something, you see, I should have been digging for my wages, and serving the master builders, though I were myself no architect. But let that go also.

Your most humble and faithful Servant,

J. EVELYN.

¹ "The History of the English Navy."

² Thomas Viscount Dunblane, afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds.

B.L.]

S. Pepys to Sir Thomas Beckford,¹ Alderman of London.

February 17, 1681-2.

Sir — You were lately pleased to tell me you would do me the favour to accommodate me with your scarlet gown, for Signior Vario,² the King's painter, to make use of in the picture he is preparing for Christ's Hospital. I intreat you to send it me in its bag, by the bearer, and will be accountable to you for its speedy return without injury. I kiss your hands, and am, &c.

S. P.

B.L.]

S. Pepys to William, Viscount Brouncker.

Newmarket, March 13th, 1681-2.

My Lord — The King received the Duke at his coming with all expressions of kindness; and though the Duke was pleased to tell me last night that the King, whose commands should ever be his guide, had not yet declared any thing of his pleasure touching his stay here, and remove hence with him to London, yet I find every body concluding, and all things in appearance concurring, that he shall do both. So that I believe your Lordship will be eased of a journey hither, which truly would be found very troublesome to you, and your accommodation here very uneasy, the town being already very full, and hourly filling. Besides that, I have to tell you from the Duke, upon my delivering him the message you intrusted me with, that he is most sensible of your particular duty and good will to him (they are his own words), and that he wants not, and therefore would by no means have you think of giving him so inconvenient a proof of it, as he apprehends your visiting him here might prove to you in your health; rather desiring you, for that reason, to respite it till he can meet you

¹ See note to 21st Feb., 1667-68.

² Antonio Verrio, the Neapolitan ceiling-painter, immortalized by Pope —
 "Where sprawl the gods of Verrio and La Guerre."

at White-hall. Mr. Pearce, however, I find mighty thoughtful and inquisitive after accommodations for your Lordship; but I doubt not but a day or two more will put you and us out of all fear of needing it: for I am already satisfied that the Duke will not return to Scotland without seeing London, nor then, I hope, but to fetch the Duchess; our Ministers being in all appearance very respectful and obsequious to him, and that squabble about the inn adjusted, my Lord Conway most readily rectifying the mistakes his servants had made, at his first coming, in that matter.

I have not yet been at Mrs. Nelly's,¹ but I hear Mrs. Knight is better, and the King takes his repose there once or twice daily. Your brother Hales is all the Representative your Board yet has here, but more, I hear, are expected, and of the Navy a whole host.

I kiss your Lordship's hand, and my Lady² Williams's, and am,

My Lord, &c.,

S. P.

C. orig.]

John Evelyn to S. Pepys.

April 28, 1682.

Sir — Considering how far your laudable zeal still extends to all things that any way concern the actions of this nation at sea, and that you despise not the least things that may possibly be of use, I make no scruple of sending you all my blotted fragments, which yet with no small pains you will find I had collected, in order to a further progress in the History of the Dutch War. I should be perfectly ashamed of the farrago, when I reflect upon the more precious materials you have amassed; but you know where Virgil found gold, and you will consider that these were only minutes and tumultuary hints relating to ampler pieces, infirm and unfit to be put into

¹ Nell Gwyn.

² This is in accordance with the lettering under the lady's engraved Portrait.

the building, but prepared to work on. It is not imaginable to those who have not tried, what labours an historian that would be exact is condemned to; he must read all, good and bad, and remove a world of rubbish before he can lay the foundation. So far I had gone, and it was well for me I went no farther, and better for the reader on many accounts, as I am sure you find by what I have already been so weak as to show you; and yet I cannot forbear. You will find, among the rest, in a little essay, how what I have written in English would show in Latin, ashamed as I was to see the history of that war published in that universal and learned language, and that in just and specious volumes, whilst we only told our tale to ourselves, and suffered the indignities of those who prepossessed the world to our prejudice; and you know how difficult a thing it is to play an after-game, when men's minds are perverted and their judgments prepossessed. Our sloth and silence in this diffusive age, greedy of intelligence and public affairs, is a great fault, and I wonder our politicians that are at the helm take no more care of it, since we see what advantages reputation alone carries with it in Holland, Genoa, Venice, and even our East India Commission; whereas, all wise men know they are neither so rich, wise, or powerful, intrinsically, and that it is the credit and estimation the vulgar has of them which renders them considerable. It was on this account I chose the action at Bergen; not that I thought it to be the most glorious or discreet, for in truth I think much otherwise, but for that the exploit was entire, and because I had seen what the Dane had published in Latin much to our dishonour. How close I have kept to my text you will find by collation, and whether nervous and sound, none can better judge. That I did not proceed need not be told you. The peace was concluded; my patron resigned his staff: his successor was unkind and unjust to me. The Dutch Ambassador complained of my *Treatise of Commerce and Navigation*, which was intended but for a prolusion, and published by His Maty's encouragement before the peace was quite ratified, though not publicly till afterwards. In sum, I had no

thanks for what I had done, and have been accounted since, I suppose, an useless fop, and fit only to plant coleworts, and I cannot bend to mean submissions; and this, Sir, is the history of the Historian. I confess to you, I had once the vanity to hope, had my patron continued in his station, for some, at least, honorary title that might have animated my progress, as seeing then some amongst them whose talents I did not envy: but it was not my fortune to succeed. If I were a young man, and had the vanity to believe any industry of mine might recommend me to the friendship and esteem of Mr Pepys, as I take him to be of a more enlarged and generous soul, so I should not doubt but he would promote this ambition of mine, and not think one that would labour for the honour of his country, in my way, unworthy some regard. This almost prompts me to say the same to him that Joseph did to Pharaoh's exauctorated butler, whose restoration to grace he predicted, — "Tantum memento mei cum bene tibi fuerit." And so farewell.

Dear Sir,

Raptim.

J. E.

B.L.]

S. Pepys to W. Hewer.

Edinburgh, Monday, May 8, 1682.

Mr. Hewer — After having told you that the Duke is well, and, then, myself, I may safely take notice to you of what will, I know, soon become the talk of the town, and be very differently entertained by it; but be their constructions of it what the worst part of them please, our solace must be that the Duke is well arrived here, though with a greater loss in his train than we can yet make any just computation of, by reason of the Kitchin Yacht not being yet come in; which, of all the yachts, had most opportunity of saving men, as lying nearest and longest about the wreck of the Gloucester, which struck upon the edge of the (Well, some say; Lemmon, say others,) about 5 in the morning, on Friday last, from an obstinate overwinning of the pilot, in opposition to all the contrary opinions

of Sir J. Berry, his master, mates, Col. Legg, the Duke himself, and several others, concurring unanimously in our not being yet clear of the sands, and therefore advising for his standing longer out to sea. The pilot is one Ayres, a man that has heretofore served the Duke as pilot in the war, and in his voyage hither, and one greatly valued as such by him: but this, however, has fallen out, and will, as it ought, be strictly inquired into, the man being, as is said, saved, and could it be regularly done would be tried and hanged here, for the nearer satisfaction of those great families of this kingdom, who, it is feared, would be found the greatest sufferers in this calamity;¹ and among others, my Lord Roxbrough, one of the flowers of this nobility, not yet heard of, nor Mr. Hyde, my Lord Hyde's brother, and lieutenant of the ship; though Sir J. Berry is, and is very well spoken of by His Royal Highness, for his comportment in this business, though unfortunate.

I told you, in a line by Mr. Froud, that though I had abundant invitation to have gone on board the Duke, I chose rather, for room's sake and accommodation, to keep my yacht, where I had nobody but Sir Christopher Musgrove and our servants with me; the Master of the Ordnance being obliged, by his indispensable attendance on his Highness, to leave us.

Our fortune was, and the rest of the yachts, to be near the Gloucester when she struck; between which and her final sinking, there passed not, I believe, a full hour; the Duke and all about him being in bed, and, to show his security, the pilot himself, till waking by her knocks.

The Duke himself, by the single care of Col. Legg, was first sent off in a boat, with none but Mr. Churchill² in her, to prevent his being oppressed with men labouring their escapes: some two or three, however, did fling themselves after him

¹ It seems the pilot was to be hanged, whether he deserved it or not, for the *satisfaction* of the relations of the young aristocrats who were lost in the Gloucester. See also page 332, *postea*, about the commission for the Court Martial. It might be worth inquiring what became of Ayres.

² Afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

into her, and my Lord President¹ of Scotland, by the Duke's advice, endeavoured it, but, falling short, was taken up out of the water by him.

Mr. Legg (then) looking after his own safety, got into a boat, and was received on board us with Capt. Macdonnell, Mr. Fortry, one of the Duke's bedchamber, and some poor men unknown: we had also the good fortune to take up Sir Charles Scarborough, almost dead, and others spent with struggling in the water and cold; but were prevented in our doing so much good as we would, by our own boat's being easily sunk by our side, and her men with much difficulty saved.

Had this fallen out but two hours sooner in the morning, or the yachts at the usual distance they had all the time before been, the Duke himself and every soul had perished; nor ought I to be less sensible of God's immediate mercy to myself, in directing me, contrary to my purpose at my first coming out, and the Duke's kind welcome to me when on board him in the River, to keep to the yacht; for many will, I doubt, be found lost, as well or better qualified for saving themselves, by swimming and otherwise, than I might have been.

Capt. Wyborne, in the *Happy Return*, was the only frigate near us, and she, indeed, in no less danger than the Gloucester; but, taking quick notice of the other's mishaps, dropped presently her anchor, and is this morning, with the Kitchen Yacht, come safe in harbour; and by her we now know that very many are lost; I judge about 200 men: but particulars are not yet fully known, only my Lord Roxbrough and Lord Hopton are certainly gone, and our young English Lord O'Brian.²

The haste the express is going away in will not allow me to write to my Lord Brouncker now; but pray give him my most

¹ James, Marquis of Montrose.

² Donald O'Brien, the son of Henry O'Brien, Lord Ibrickan (eldest son of Henry, seventh Earl of Thomond), by Lady Catherine Stuart, sister and heir of Charles, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, and in her own right, Baroness Clifton. See note 1 in vol. iv., p. 314.

humble services, and communicate this to his Lordship, and the like to Crutched Friars, Winchester Street, and Portugal Row, as soon as you conveniently can, to remove any causeless care concerning me, giving my Lord Brouncker a hint, and my thinking it very expedient in itself and regardful in him towards the Duke, that some inquiry be made into the care the Navy Office will be found to have used in providing for his safety and ship, with respect to the appointment of good and a sufficient number of pilots on this occasion; for I hear something muttered here about it, and it will not, I doubt, be judged enough for them to leave it to the Duke to take whom he pleased, or might possibly be otherwise advised to, without interposing some immediate care of their own in it, as I am sure was heretofore done in my time, upon his going to sea. I do privately think it will be very well received by His Highness, to hear of his Lordship's interesting himself of his own accord in this inquiry.

The Duchess is very well, and, saving the abatement given her in it by this disaster, under much joy from the Duke's kindness, and the errand he comes upon of fetching her home.

So, with my service to Clapham and every where else, I wish your family and self continuance of health, and am ever, &c. &c.

S. P.

B.L. orig.]

W. Hewer to S. Pepys.

Yorke Buildings, 13 May, 1682.

Hon^d Sir — The welcomest newes I ever received in my life, was what you were pleased to honour me with, by yours of the 8th inst. from Edinburgh, after the late misfortune to the Gloucester, concerning which we had some imperfect account on Wednesday morning, about 11 of the clock; it coming from my Lord Conway, at Windsor, to Sir Leoline Jenkins's office, at White Hall, where I was then waiting at the Treasury Chambers, and was not a little surprized at the reporte, which in less than an houres time ran through the whole citty, and

was variously discoursed of as people were affected and inclined: some would have it that the Duke and all were lost — others, that all were saved, and the shipp only lost; but all generally concluded it to be a very unfortunate and unkinde disaster: but the thoughts of the Duke's safety, and our friends, does very much ease our mindes, and give us great satisfaction.

You cannot imagine in what consternation all your friends in generall were, upon the reporte of your being cast away, but more especially those at Crutched Fryars, Winchester Street, and Portugal Rowe, to whom I communicated your letter, which was matter of noe small joy and satisfaction to them: they all joyne with me in returning God Almighty thanks for his great mercy in directing you in your passage as he did.

My Lord Brouncker, to whome I communicated your letter and command, was not a little glad to heare of your safety, returning you very kinde thanks for your hints, which he will make use of.

The commission omitted to be given Sir John Berry, for holding a court martiall at his going out, is sent last night express, as I am inform'd.

They have been so disordered in Winchester Street, that I am commanded to tell you they shall not be themselves till they see you, and the enclosed from Portugal Row will let you know how they doe; all your friends in generall giving you their very humble service, and heartily wish your safe returne.

One accident has happen'd here the last week, near in towne, to be lamented, viz., *our friend* Colon^{ll} Scott's¹ being fledd for

¹ Colonel Scott had accused Pepys of popery and treason: see "Life," vol. i. In the "Intelligencer" of May 20, 1681, is the following advertisement for his apprehension: — "The last week, one Colonel John Scott took an occasion to kill one John Butler, a hackney-coachman, at the Horse-shoe, on Tower Hill, without any other provocation ('tis said) but refusing to carry him and another gentleman pertaining to the law, from thence to Temple Bar, for 1s. 6d. Amongst the many pranks that he hath played in other countries, 'tis believed this is one of the very worst. He is a very great vindicator of the Salamanca Doctor. He is a lusty tall man, squint-eyed, thin-faced, wears

killing a coachman, the Coroner having found it wilful murder: meanes are using to buy off the widow, who has three small children; but we are considering what to doe to prevent it,¹ Sir A. Deane being come to towne.

The Officers of the Navy were directed by the Admiralty to goe downe this day to Chatham, to make some further enquiries concerning the business of the wett dock, that matter not being yet adjusted; my Lord Finch having been very severe on Sr Ph. Pett, who beares up and thinks nothing has been yet sayd to the prejudice of the reasons he gave against it.

Sir John Banks took very kindly my waiting on him with the account you gave, he having not met with any that was soe particular; and being to dine with my Lord Chancellor to-day, where Mr. Seymoure was to be, he did very much press me to give him an extract of your letter relateing to the loss of the Gloucester, and the circumstances thereof, which I did doe, leaving out all that related to yourselfe, and the hints to my Lord Brouncker.

a peruke sometimes, and has a very h— look. All good people would do well, if they can, to apprehend him, that he may be brought to justice."

This was followed by another advertisement in the same paper of May 23, 1681:—"In our last, we gave you an account how valiantly Colonel Scott killed Butler the coachman. This is that Scott that cheated the States of Holland of 7,000*l.*, and was hanged in effigy at the Hague in 1672. Afterwards, he went to Paris, and pretended to a person of quality belonging to that Court that he had got several sea-cards, by which he could show them how to burn all his Majesty's navy in their harbours; but being discovered to be a cheat, was forced to fly. Since the discovery of the Popish plot he came into England, and pretended he had those sea-cards of Sir Anthony Deane and Mr. Pepys, and that they would have the ships burnt by the French King, and employed him for that purpose. He is also the person that robbed himself in Flanders, to get contribution from the priests and convents. He has played a thousand pranks more, and hath been of Sheriff B—'s [Slingsby Bethel] club lately, and great with all the Popish evidences, plot-drivers, and discoverers."

¹ This is another curious specimen of the manner in which justice was administered in those days. The supposed murderer's friends tried to buy off the widow's evidence, whilst Pepys's adherents laboured to ensure the man's conviction, because he had wronged Pepys on a former occasion.

Pray present my very humble service to Mr. Legg, whose great prudence and regard towards the Duke's safety is very much spoken of, to his great honour, by all that wish well to the Duke. I shall not offer att the giving you any further trouble at present, hoping my letter under cover to my Lady Peterborow met you at Edinburgh, but with all due respects and service remaine

Your ever faithfull and most obedient servant,

WM. HEWER.

B.L.]

S. Pepys to W. Hewer.

Newcastle, Friday, May 26th, 82.

Mr Hewer — Having, by a former letter from Berwick, owned and thanked for yours by my Lady Peterborough, this comes to do the like for another of the 13th instant, which I met at my arrival here, three days since, and was most welcome to me, as bringing me both the satisfaction of understanding your healths, and the kind resentments you had upon the notice of mine: for which, after what is first due to God Almighty, I give all our friends, and particularly yourself, my most affectionate thanks.

Since my coming hither, Mr. Legg and I have made a step to Durham, where the Bishop¹ seems to live more like a prince of this, than a preacher of the other world, and shall, to-day, set out for Scarborough, where, if I find none from you, pray let me meet a line or two at Hull, which is the last port we are to touch at in our way home; where I hope we shall, in ten days, have a safe meeting.

I am infinitely bound to my friends in Portugal Row and Winchester Street, for their thoughts of me, and the favour of their letters, which I will acknowledge to them myself from Scarborough, where we shall, God permitting it, be to-morrow. Sir Ralph Delavall just now coming in, and forcing us away to

¹ Nathaniel, Lord Crewe.

a seat of his,¹ some few miles from this place, where he will have us eat with him before we sail, interrupting me in my letter to them this post; pray them, therefore, in the mean time, to stay their kind stomachs, that I thank them, love them, long to see them, and having thus escaped [*illegible*] will not now despair of living to serve them.

And this leads me to the tidings you give me of *our friend* Scott, whom God is pleased to take out of our hands into his own for justice; for should he prevail with the widow for her forgiveness, which yet, in some respects, I could wish might be prevented, there is the King's pardon behind, which I suppose he will not easily compass, unless by some confessions, which I am confident he is able to make, relating to the State as well as us, that might enough atone for this his last villany; nor do I doubt, but to save his own life, he will forget his trade and tell truth, though to the hazard of the best friends he has; which pray let Sir Anto. Deane think of, and of putting in a caveat against his getting any pardon from Court, if he should attempt it, till we are first heard, which, upon advising, I believe he and you will find the thing regular enough for us to do.

We daily long to hear of the Duke's arrival in the River.

Mr. Legg gives you his service, which pray distribute from me also among all our friends, and to yourself my most serious wishes of health and all that is good.

Adieu!

S. P.

B.L.]

*Sir Clowdesley Shovel to Sir Martin Wescomb.*²

(Transmitted to Mr. Pepys.)

June the 22, 1683, from aboard the *James Galley*,
at 11 o'clocke at night.

Sir—Yours I have rec^d, and give your honour thanks for your advice and counsell. Sir, my orders call me from this

¹ Seaton-Delaval, in Northumberland, which has descended to Jacob Astley, Lord Hastings.

² Consul at Cadiz: created a baronet March 19, 1669.

place a Sunday next, therefor I think to saile tomorrow for the Bay of Bulls, if the weather permite; and on Sunday I shall proceed according to my orders, which I shall ever be carefull in keeping, especially my Royal orders, which positively command me to salute neither garison nor flagg of any forrainer, except I am certine to receave gunne for gunne. Pray, Sir, doe me the favour to gett my two trumpeters: their names are Walter Ashley and William Quinte, the former about 21 yeares old, the latter about 17: they are aboard the Starr, one of the Armada shippes that was built in Holland. Not else to trouble your honour at present, I remaine,

Honoured Sir, &c.

CLOW. SHOVELL.¹

B.L.]

Ursula Pepys² to S. Pepys.

September 13, [1683.]

Sir — The civilitys I have receivd from you gives mee a beleife that itt will not be disagreeable to you to lett you know wee are well settled at Edmondthorpe, in a very pretty seat, and good old house; and, which is best of all, with a fine gentleman, who is a kind good husband. Wee should all think our selvs very hapy to see you here; and I hope, if any occasion draw you this way, you will be so kind as to rest your selfe here awhile; and I am sure my daughter and her husband would make you a very hearty wellcome. I beg your pardon for the troble I gave you last, and entreat you to beleive I have a respect and esteem of your meritt, which accompanys me in all places whear dwells, sir, &c.,

UR. PEPYS.

¹ The celebrated Admiral, lost in October, 1705, off the Scilly Isles.

² Ursula, daughter of Bryan Stapylton, and wife of Thomas Pepys, of Merton Abbey, Surrey, Master of the Jewel Office to Charles II. Their only child, Olivia, had just married Edward, eldest son of Sir Edward Smith, of Edmundthorpe, in Leicestershire, the place mentioned in the letter.

B.L. orig.]

*Lord Dartmouth to S. Pepys.*Tangier, January 11th, 1683-4.

Deare Sir — You will easily imagine the condition we have beene in here, by the ill weather you have beene witness of where you have beene; but yet, God be thanked! we have struggled in it so farr, that the Mole is totally destroyed; neye, much more than you will immagine, till you see it, which, I hope, will be as soone as conveniently you can; for, when the Alcade and I come to treat of slaves, I shall want both your advice and assistance, for which I must ever acknowledge mysele already sufficiently indebted, and Mr. Hewer for paying and accounting the mony. Pray, make no scruple of taking any man of warr, that is, of his Majesties fleete, to bringe you hither when you thinke fitt to command her; and I send you enclosed an order, that you may please to put in the Commander's name when you can come to me; for nothing they can pretend, if the ship be in condicon, can be of more service to His Majesty than bringing you hither, whose judgment and kindness I have an entire confidence in, being, from my heart,

Your most obliged and faithful friend,

And humble Servant,

DARTMOUTH.

As Atkins has drawne the order, no Commander's name need now be added, so that you may apply it to whom and when you please.

But remember Harry Williams is my old friend, and, since he is in hopes of making his fortune, I would not injure him.

B.M.]

Letter from Samuel Pepys to —, respecting the designed establishment of Sir William Boreman's Mathematical School, at Greenwich.

October 10, 1685.

Sir — I can't but thank you for the acquaintance you have recommended me to; and yet I am ready to wish sometimes

you had let it alone. For I can't putt a book or paper into his hand, out of a desire to entertain him, but he makes one sweat with one confounding question or other, before I can get it from him again, even to the putting me sometimes to more torture to find the gentleman a safe answer, than ever Sacheverell or Lee did. Only to-day (I thank him) he has used me very gently, upon occasion of two papers I got him to read to me, the one an account I have lately received from Algiers of the whole proceedings (by way of Journal) of the French fleetes there; the other, the Statutes designed by Sir William Boreman for the government of his new Mathematical School at Greenwiche, in imitation of that of the King's at Christ Hospital. Wherein, asking our young man his advice, as Sir William Boreman does mine, he has given it me with great satisfaction, without putting me to any pain about it; only I have promised to carry him down with me next week, when I shall be desired to meet the Founder upon the place. And, indeed, it is a deed of the old man's very praiseworthy. And for the young one, you may be sure I'll keep him my friend (as you counsel me) for fear of his Tales. For, by my conscience, the knave has discovered more of my nakedness than ever you did, or my Lord Shaftesbury either. In a word, I do most heartily joy you in him, and (as evil as our days are) should not be sorry, you could joy me in such another. And so, God bless your whole fireside, and send you, for their sakes and the King's, a good occasion of removing your three parts a little nearer us. I do most respectfully kiss your hands, and am, your most faithful and most humble Servant,

S. PEPYS.

P.S. — If you have had any occasion of knowing either here or in Ireland, one Mr. Wentworth, a branch of the great Lord Deputy's, who has (or is said so) an estate of about 8 or 900*l.* per annum in the latter, and was a fellow member of ours towards the latter end (as I take it) of the Long Parliament, a good, sober gentleman in appearance, but at that time a great anti-courtier, pray give me a little light concerning him, both

as to the character of the man and his estate, there being an overture depending between him and a relation of a friend of yours and mine, wherein it imports us much to know the truth of both.

To-night we have had a mighty musical entertainment at Court for the welcoming home of the King and Queen, wherein the frequent returns of the words, Arms, Beauty, Triumph, Love, Progeny, Peace, Dominion, Glory, &c., had apparently cost our Poet-Prophet more pains to find rhymes than reasons.

The above letter was purchased in 1841, contained in the Library of Dr. Samuel Butler, Bishop of Lichfield.

B.L. orig.]

Abraham Tilghman to S. Pepys.

Deptford, Feby 9th, 86, 4 o'clock.

Hono^{ble} Sir — Whilst Commiss^r St Michell¹ is drowned in tears, and his spirit sinking under the sence of so heavy a loss, I am by him commanded to acquaint your Honour that this afternoone, about one, his lady fell in travell, and was, about two, delivered of a son; but the birth of the child became the death of the mother; for within a quarter of an houre after her soul expired, and hath left a husband and numerous family bleeding under, I think, the saddest accents of sorrow I ever saw.

I most humbly beg leave to subscribe, hon^{ble} sir,

Your Honours most obedient and

Most humble Servant, ABRA. TILGHMAN.

B.L.

S. Pepys to Mr. St. Michel.

December 11, 1686.

Brother St. Michel — I cannot but thank you (though in few words) for your kind enquiry after my health by yours of

¹ Mrs. Pepys's brother.

the 7th inst. It was not without very much ground, that in one of my late letters of general advice to you, I cautioned you against depending upon any support much longer from me, I then feeling what I now cannot hide, I mean that paine which I at this day labour under (night and day) from a new stone lodged in my kidneys, and an ulcer attending it, with a general decay of my stomach and strength, that cannot be played with long, nor am I solicitous that it should. This satisfaction I have as to your own particular, that I have discharged my part of friendship and care towards you and your family, as far as I have been, or could ever hope to be able, were I to live twenty years longer in the Navy; and to such a degree, as will with good conduct, enable you both to provide well for your family, and at the same time doe your King and country good service. Wherein I pray God to bless you soe, as that you may neither by any neglect or miscarriage, fayle in the latter, nor by any improvidence (which I must declare to you I am most doubtfull of, and in paine for) live to lament your neglect of my repeated admonitions to you touching the latter. This I say to you, as if I were never to trouble either you or myself about it more; and pray think of it as such from your truly affectionate Brother and Servant,

S. PEPYS.

B.L. orig.]

Sir Sam. Morland to S. Pepys.

Saturday, 19 February, 1686-7.

Sir — I went, about 3 or 4 days since, to see what the Commissioners of the Navy had done upon the order you sent them relating to the new gun carriages, &c., but mett none but Sr Jo. Narborough, who told me your order expres't a tryal of shooting to be made like that at Portsmouth, which was impracticable at Deptford; because shooting with powder only was no tryall, and shooting with bullets too dangerous. And, therefore, his opinion, which he did believe would be the opinion of the whole Board, was, that to each new carriage should

be the addition of a windlass, and also the false truck at the end of the carriages; and that all other things, as eyebolts, tackles, &c., should be left as they are in the old carriages, till such time as a full tryall be made of the new way, both at sea and in a fight; and then what shall prove to be useless in the old way, may bee wholly left off, and layd aside.

I would have wayted on you with this account myself, but I presume you have, ere this time, heard what an unfortunate and fatall accident has lately befallen me, of which I shall give you an abbreviat.

About three weeks or a month since, being in very great perplexities, and almost distracted for want of moneys, my private creditors tormenting me from morning to night, and some of them threatening me with a prison, and having no positive answer from His Majesty about the 1,300*l.*, which the late Lord Treasurer cutt off from my pension so severely, which left a debt upon mee which I was utterly unable to pay, there came a certain person to me, whom I had relieved in a starving condition, and for whom I had done a thousand kindnesses; who pretended in gratitude to help me to a wife who was a very vertuous, pious, and sweet disposition'd lady, and an heiress who had 500*l.* per ann. in land of inheritance, and 4,000*l.* in ready money, with the interest since nine years, beside a mortgage upon 300*l.* p^r an. more, with plate, jewels, &c. The devil himself could not contrive more probable circumstances than were layd before me; and when I had often a mind to inquire into the truth, I had no power, believing, for certain reasons, that there were some charms or witchcraft used upon me. And, withall, believing it utterly impossible that a person so obliged should ever be guilty of so black a deed as to betray me in so barbarous a manner, (besides that, I really believ'd it a blessing from Heaven for my charity to that person), I was, about a fortnight since, led as a fool to the stocks, and married a coachmans daughter not worth a shilling, and one who, about 9 months since, was brought to bed of a bastard; and thus I am both absolutely ruined in my fortune and reputation, and must become a derision to all the world.

My case is, at present, in the Spiritual Court, and I presume that one word from His Majesty to his Proctor, and Advocate, and Judge, would procure me speedy justice; if either our old acquaintance or Christian pity move you, I beg you to put in a kind word for me, and to deliver the enclosed into the King's own hands, with all convenient speed; for a criminal bound and going to execution is not in greater agonies, than has been my poor, active soul since this befell me: and I earnestly beg you to leave 3 lines for me with your own porter, what answer the King gives you, and my man shall call for it. A flood of tears blind my eyes, and I can write no more, but that I am

Your most humble but poor distressed Serv^t,

S. MORLAND.

B.L. orig.]

Dr. Peachell to S. Pepys.

Magdalene College, Cambridge, February 23, 86-7.

Honourd Sir—I am to returne you manifold thanks for many favours, particularly for the warrant for the Doe, though our audit was put off: and for crediting us with the education of your nephew, who came to continue last Tuesday, and I shall be very mindfull of his health, behaviour, and improvement, while God continueth him and me together.

I must not conceale from such a friend as you what, before this comes to you will be known in Court and City. His Majesty was pleased to send a letter directed to me, as Vice-Chancellor, to admit one Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, Master of Arts, without administering any oath or oaths to him. Now, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy being required by the statutes of Eliz. and Jac. 1^{mi}, I could not tell what to do—decline his Majesties letter, or his lawes: I could but pray to God to direct, sanctifie, and governe me in the wayes of his lawes; that so, through his most mighty protection, both here and ever, I may be preserved in body and soul: then, by our Chancellour, I endeavoured to obtaine His Majesties release, which could not be obtained. I thought it

unmannerly to importune his Sacred Majesty, and was afraid to straine friends against the graine; and so could only betake myselfe to my owne conscience, and the advice of loyall and prudent men, my friends; and, after all, I was perswaded that my oath as Vice-Chancellor, founded on the statutes, was against it, and I should best exercise a conscience void of offence towards God and man, by deprecating his Majesties displeasure, and casting myselfe upon his princely clemency.

Worthy Sir, tis extraordinary distresse and affliction to me, after so much indeavour and affection to his Royall person, crown, and succession, I should at last, by the providence of God, in this my station, be thus exposed to his displeasure; but I must commit myselfe to the great God and my dread Sovereigne, the law and my friends, none of which I would have hurt for my sake, but desire all fayour and helpe they thinke me capable of without hurting themselves; for if I do ill, tis not out of malice, but feare of the last judgment, and at the worst through involuntary mistake. Sir, I am sorry I have occasion to give you this information and trouble; but you will pardon, I hope, if you cannot helpe, Sir,

Your most devoted Servant, whatever befall,

J. PEACHELL.

The business was transacted yesterday, and I presently gave account to the E. of Sunderland and D. of Albemarle, imploring their candid representation to the King's Majesty, whom God save.

B.L. orig.]

Lord Chancellor Jeffreys to S. Pepys.

Bulstrode, July ye 7th, 1687.

My most Honrd Friend — The bearer, Capt. Wren, came to mee this evening, with a strong fancy that a recommendation of myne might at least entitle him to your favourable reception; his civillities to my brother, and his relation to honest Will Wren, and you know who else, emboldens mee to offer

my request on his behalfe. I hope he has served our Mr well, and is capable of being an object of the King's favour in his request: however, I am sure I shall be excused for this importunity, because I will gladly, in my way, embrace all opportunities wherein I may manifest mysele to be what I here assure you I am, Sir,

Your most entirely affectionate

Friend and Servant, JEFFREYS, C.

B.L. orig.]

Josiah Burchett to S. Pepys.

Saturday Noon, August 13, 1687.

Hon^{ble} Sir — Did not my utmost necessity force me to it, I could never have taken the liberty of troubling you with this second letter, knowing how unwelcome any thing must be to you that comes from one to whom you have been pleased to express so great an aversion. 'Tis a severe penance I undergo, in being thrown so suddenly out of a family I have so long earned my bread in, into a wide world, whereto, God knows, I am so great a stranger, that I know not how or where to bestow myself, being constrained, through want of money, to procure me house-rooms, to ramble in those parts where I think I may least expose mysele to the sight of my friends, which is now grown equally cruel to that of my enemys.

I should be heartily glad could I but meet with never so small employment, whereby I might be able to coope mysele up; but I am wholly a stranger where to seek it.

I most humbly crave pardon for what I have done amiss, and pray God that you suffer no more wrong from them that have thus exasperated you against me than I have really done you; and, since it is impossible for me to regaine what I have lost, lett me beg some little thing or other to do, to keep me from idlenesse, 'till God shall please otherwise to dispose of me. I know that this is an unreasonable request, but, for God's sake, consider that necessity will catch at any thing,

wherein there is the least show of hope. I heartily beg pardon, also, for this trouble, and remaine,

Hon^{ble} Sir, your Honours most obed^t Servant,
J. BURCHETT.

B.L. orig.]

H. Slingsby to S. Pepys.

Accompanying a List of modern English Medals by him offered to sale.

11th October, 1687.

Sir — You being my ancient friend and good acquaintance, I cannot doe lesse than offer to putt into your hands a generall collection of all the medalls made by Roettiers, of which I had an opportunity to chuse the best struck off; and I am sure soe full a collection noe man in England has beside myself, which you shall have at the same rate I paid for. When Roettier happens to die, they may be worth five or ten pounds more, and yett are not to be had, many of the stamperes being broke and spoiled. I have sent you the list to peruse, which, if you approve of, I shall much rejoyce at; if not, pray returne the list againe, for I have severall friends will be glad to have them of,

S^r, your, &c.,

H. SLINGESBY.

If you desire any of the King and Queen's coronation medalls, I have 6 of them that I can spare at 6^s. each.

A LIST OF MONSIEUR'S ROETTIER'S MEDALLS, WITH CASES.

	<i>li. s. d.</i>
1. The great Britannia, with <i>Felicitas Britanniaë</i>	4 10 0
2. The Duke of Yorke's, with <i>Nec Minor in Terris</i>	3 14 0
3. The late King's for the Hospitall, with <i>Institutor Augustus</i> . .	3 2 0
4. The Comte de Monterey, with <i>Belgii et Burgundiæ Gubernator</i>	3 2 0
5. The new Brittannia, with <i>Nullum numen abest</i>	2 3 0
6. The Duke of Yorke, with <i>Genus antiquum</i>	2 3 0
7. The Duke of Lauderdale, with <i>Concilio et Animis</i>	2 0 0
8. The King, for the Fyre Ships, with <i>Pro talibus ausis</i>	1 19 0
9. The King, with <i>Religionis Reformatæ Protectori</i>	1 17 0

	li. s. d.
10 Collo ^{ll} Strangways, with <i>Decusque adversa dederunt</i>	1 17 0
11. The Bpp of Canterbury, with <i>Sancti Carol Præcursor</i>	1 15 0
12. Another of the same	1 15 0
13. The King, for Bruges, with <i>Redeant Commercia Flandris</i>	1 9 0
14. The First Britannia, with <i>Favente Deo</i>	1 9 0
15. The King, for the Fyre Shippes, with <i>Pro talibus ausis</i>	1 8 0
16. The King's New Invention for Fortifications	1 7 0
17. The King, with his Armes	1 4 0
18. The King on one side and the Queen on the other	0 18 0
19. The King of Spaine, with <i>Flandria. Ostendæ</i>	0 18 0
20 The Queen Dowager and St Katherine, with <i>Pietate insignis</i>	0 18 0
21. Another of the same	0 18 0
22. The King of Sweeden's Inauguration, 29 May, 1671	0 18 0
23. The King and Queen together, with <i>Diffusus in Orbe Britan-</i> <i>nus</i>	0 16 0
24. The little one, the King on one side and the Queen on the other	0 10 0
25. Sr Samuel Morland's	0 10 0
Total	43 0 0

B.L. orig.]

Dr. Peachell to S. Pepys.

December 19, 1687.

Hon^d Sir—I return you my hearty thanks for your countenance when last with you. I found those few friends I thought fit to consult, of your opinion in my case, since my return here, and have occasion given to expect a deprivation in a little time, which may probably be pushed on, by those who have a mind to be in my room. I am a little afraid, too, my patron, the Earl of Suffolk,¹ may be content to have me removed, if he may be secure of nominating a successor. Sir, if you may, without notice of yourself or me, discover any such matters to acquaint me with, you will more and more oblige,

Sir, yr very faithful Servt,

J. PEACHELL.

¹ The right of nominating to the Mastership of Magdalene College, Cambridge, was vested for ever, by the founder, Lord Chancellor Audley, in the possessors of Audley End, which at that time belonged to James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk.

B.M. orig.]

*Richard Gibson to Samuel Pepys.*¹

1688.

Honourable Sir — What I mentioned unto your Honour in the Victualling Office, at Tower Hill on Wednesday, the 18th inst., when your Honour saw the sad disaster happened by burning the Cooperidge there — namely, that it is of moment to His Majesty to purchase Sir Denis Gauden's right in the Redd House for a Victualling Office,² arose from what occurred to me some years past. For, however, that place at first settling for a Victualling Office in King Henry the Eighth's time, might then be remote from other buildings, yet it is now surrounded by so many old and wood-built tenements, as to remain always liable to the same mishap, by being bad-tenanted and contiguous. Besides, the Cooperidge, bakehouse, stock of bavins, and fleshshed, are too near each other, which, like flax when on fire, is not easily quenched, by being overbuilt, and having but one way (the great gate) to go into it, to the hazard of the whole.

That, however, at His Majesty's great charge, in the late Dutch war, the then Victuallers, Sir Joseph Child and partners, put the Cooperidge into a condition to answer the occasions thereof; yet they found a want of stowage for their flesh, so as (besides that of profit) to put them upon an expedient to answer that defect, by introducing flour in lieu of beef. This want of stowage for flesh still remains, so as to compel the present Commissioners for Victualling to stow their casks one upon another, to the pressing of the pickle out of the undermost, by which their beef and pork last year was most of it rusty; and the rest remained too long in its bloody pickle for want of room, to inspect it before delivered out of store. Enquire what great quantities of beef and pork, Sir Josiah Child and partners sold at Tangier, Barbadoes, &c, that remained

¹ See Note on Victualling Office, in Appendix.

² "This had took place if the Revolution had not prevented, to my advantage 500 guineas." — *Note by Richard Gibson.*

upon their hands (at the time of their going off,) unfit for sale at home.

That to this day the stowage for biscuits there is scant, which compelled Sir Denis Gauden to erect a bread loft over the bake-house; which (by a little mishap) took fire in these Commissioners' time, and burnt many thousand weight of biscuit, endangering the whole magazine. That the Bayliff's place is too remote from the water side for a Victualling Office, by which His Majesty is put to the charge of 10*d.* a ton cartage for all the bread, flesh, pease, oatmeal, flour, water casks, &c., sent thence to the water-side.

RICHARD GIBSON.

B.L. orig.]

S. R. Morland to S. Pepys.

17 May, 1688.

Sir — Being of late unable to go abroad, by reason of my lame hip, which gives me great pain, besides that it would not be safe for me at present, because of that strumpet's debts, I take the boldness to entreat you that, according to your wonted favours, of the same kind, you will be pleased, at the next opportunity, to give the King this following account.

A little before Christmas last, being informed that she was willing, for a sum of money, to confess in open Court a pre-contract with Mr Cheek, and being, at the same time, assured both by her, and my own lawyers, that such a confession would be sufficient for a sentence of nullity, I did deposit the money, and accordingly a day of tryall was appoynted; but, after the cause had been pleaded, I was privately assured that the Judge was not at all satisfyed with such a confession of hers, as to be a sufficient ground for him to null the marriage, and so that design came to nothing.

Then I was advised to treat with her, and give her a present sum and a future maintenance, she giving me sufficient security never to trouble mee more; but her demands were so high, I could not consent to them.

After this, she having sent me a very submissive letter by

her own advocate, I was advised, both by several private friends, and some eminent divines, to take her home, and a day of treaty was appointed for an accommodation.

In the interim, a certain gentleman came on purpose, to my house, to assure me that I was taking a snake into my bosom, forasmuch as she had for six months last past, to his certain knowledge, been kept by, and cohabited with Sir Gilb. Gerrard as his wife, &c. Upon which making further enquiry, that gentleman furnished me with some witnesses, and I having found out others, I am this Term endeavouring to prove adultery against her, and so to obteyn a divorce, which is the present condition of

Your most humble and faithful Servant,

S. MORLAND.

B.L. orig.]

R. Scott,¹ the Bookseller, to S. Pepys.

June 30th, 1688.

Sir—Having at length procured Campion, Hanmer, and Spencer's Hist. of Ireland, fol., which, I think, you formerly desired, I here send itt you, with 2 very scarce bookes besides, viz. Pricæi Defensio Hist. Britt. 4°, and old Harding's Chronicle, as alsoe the Old Ship of Fooles, in old verse, by Alex. Berkley, priest; which last, though nott scarce, yett soe very fayre and perfect, that seldome comes such another: the Pri-cæus you will find deare, yett I never sold it under 10^s, and att this tyme you can have it of a person of quality; but, without flattery, I love to find a rare book for you, and hope shortly to procure for you a perfect Hall's Chronicle.

I am, Sir,

Your Servant to command,

ROBERT SCOTT.

¹ Robert Scot, of Little Britain, the greatest bookseller in Europe: for besides his stock in England, he had warehouses at Frankfort, Paris, and other places. See a notice of him in North's "Life of Dr. John North," vol. iii. p. 290, edit. 1826.

Campion, Hanmer, and Spencer, fol.	0 : 12 : 0
Harding's Chronicle, 4 ^o	0 : 6 : 0
Pricæi Defens Hist Brit.	0 : 8 : 0
Shipp of Fooles, fol.	0 : 8 : 0

1 : 14 : 0

B.L. orig.]

Sir Samuel Morland to S. Pepys.

19 July, 1688.

Sir — I once more begg you to give yourself the trouble of acquainting His Majesty that, upon Munday last, after many hott disputes between the Doctors of the Civil Law, the sentence of divorce was solemnly pronounced in open Court against that strumpet, for living in adultery with Sir Gilbert Gerrard for six months last past; so that now, unless shee appeal, for which the law allows her 15 days, I am freed from her for life, and all that I have to do for the future, will bee to gett clear of her debts which she has contracted from the day of marriage to the time of sentence, which is like to give mee no small trouble, besides the charge, for severall months in the Chancery. And till I gett cleared of these debts, I shall bee little better than a prisoner in my own house. Sir, believing it my duty to give His Majesty this account of myselfe, and of my proceedings, and having no other friend to do it for mee, I hope you will forgive the trouble thus given you by

Yours, &c.,

S. MORLAND.

B.L.]

Lord Sunderland to Sir Robert Holmes.

(Transmitted to S. Pepys.)

Windsor, September 15th, 1688.

Sir — The King commands me to acquaint you that he approves very well of Mr. William Hewer and Mr. Edward Roberts, for members to serve in Parliament for the borough of Yarmouth, and of yourself and Mr. — Nebbervill, for Newport; and of Mr. William Blathwayte and Mr. Thomas

Done, for Newtown; and accordingly His Majesty recommends it to you, to give them your assistance, and use your interest, that they may be chosen accordingly.

I am, &c.,

Copia Vera.

SUNDERLAND, P.¹

B.L. orig.]

*The King to S. Pepys.*²

November 30, 1688.

Order the Isabella and Anne yachts to fall down to Erith to-morrow.

J. R.

B.L.]

The King to Lord Dartmouth.

[*Endorsed in Pepys's hand.*] "Copy of the King's letter to the Lord Dartmouth, the night before his withdrawing himself. *Mem.* — That another was next morning brought me sealed up from the King for my Lord Dartmouth very early, by a Frenchman, one of the pages of the back stairs, who told me that at the King's going away, he put two letters into his hand, one for the Count du Roy, and this other for my Lord Dartmouth, to be delivered to me, which I accordingly dispatched forthwith away to my Lord by express." S. P.

Whitehall, December 10th, 1688.

Things haveing soe very bad an aspect, I could noe longer defer secureing the Queen and my son, which I hope I have done, and that by to-morrow by noone they will be out of the reach of my enemies. I am at ease now I have sent them away. I have not heard this day, as I expected, from my Commissioners with the Prince of Orange, who, I believe, will hardly be prevailed with to stop his march; soe that I am in noe good condition, nay, in as bad a one as is possible. I am sending the Duke of Berwick down to Portsm^o, by which you

¹ President of the Council.

² The yachts were evidently prepared for the escape of the Royal Family to France, but neither of them was used for that purpose.

will know my resolution concerning the fleet under your command, and what resolutions I have taken; till when, I would not have you stirr from the place where you are, for severall reasons.

JAMES R.

B.L. orig.]

John Evelyn to S. Pepys.

[*Endorsed*] "Upon the great convulsion of State upon the King's withdrawing."

Sayes Court, 12 December, 83.

Sir — I left you indispos'd, and send on purpose to learne how it is with you, and to know if, in any sort, I may serve you in this prodigious Revolution. You have many friends, but no man living who is more sincerely your servant, or that has a greater value for you. We are here as yet, I thank God, unmolested; but this shaking menaces every corner, and the most philosophic breast cannot but be sensible of the motion. I am assur'd you neede no precepts, nor I example, so long as I have yours before me, and I would governe myselfe by your commands to, Sir,

Your most humble,

faithfull Servant, J. EVELYN.

B.L. orig.]

W. Hewer to S. Pepys.

[*Endorsed in Pepys's hand*] — "A letter of great tenderness, at a time of difficulty."

Wensday Night, Decembr 19, 1688.

Honoured Sir — I humbly thanke you for yours of this afternoon, which gives me greate satisfaction, and hope this afternoon or evening's audience will prove to your satisfaction, which I doe heartily wish and pray for; if not, I know you will chearefully acquiesce in what ever circumstance God Almighty shall think most proper for you, which, I hope, may prove more to your satisfaction than you can imagine. You

may rest assured that I am wholly your's, and that you shall never want the utmost of my constant, faithfull, and personall service; the utmost I can doe being inconsiderable to what your kindness and favour to me has and does oblige me to: and, therefore, as all I have, proceeded from you, soe all I have and am, is and shall be, at your service.

I have noe reason to complain as yet of any hardship; but to-morrow I shall know the utmost, and then I shall waite on you: remaineing, in the meane time,

Your ever faithfull and obedient Servant,

W^m HEWER.

B.L.]

Mons. De Luzancy, Minister of Harwich, to S. Pepys.

Harwich, Jan. 7, 1688-9.

Sir — I have been desired by your friends to send you the enclosed paper, by which you may easily be made sensible how we are overrun with pride, heat, and faction; and unjust to ourselves to that prodigious degree, as to deprive ourselves of the greatest honor and advantage which we could ever attain to, in the choice of so great and so good a man as you are. Had reason had the least place amongst us, or any love for ourselves, we had certainly carried it for you. Yet, if we are not by this late defection altogether become unworthy of you, I dare almost be confident, that an earlier application of the appearing of yourself or Sir Anthony Deane, will put the thing out of doubt against the next Parliament. A conventicle set up here since this unhappy Liberty of Conscience has been the cause of all this. In the meantime, my poor endeavours shall not be wanting, and though my steadfastness to your interests these ten years has almost ruined me, yet I shall continue as long as I live,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

DE LUZANCY.¹

¹ Hippolitus de Luzancy, A.M., Vicar of Dover Court cum Capellâ de Harwich, living in 1700.

B.L. orig.]

An Account of the Election at Harwich.

January 16, 1688-9.

The candidates, Sir Thomas Middleton, a very worthy gentleman, agreed upon by all parties, and one Mr John Eldred; the Towne Clerck declaring that Sam. Pepys, Esq., should not be enter'd, except some appear'd personally for him, which being done immediately, he was at last set down.

The Common Councel were so hot for the other, that, without hearing any reasons, nothing would serve but a present election. But, before they voted, the Mayor and several of the Aldermen arguing strongly that many of them could not be electors; some not being qualified according to law, others being open Dissenters from the Church, amongst whom one a kind of Quaker, four lately taken in the room of four who were absent, and turn'd out without any warrant; it was learnedly answer'd that, by the King's late proclamation, they were put *in statu quo* in 1679; to which reply being made, that the King's proclamation did really restore them who were then electors, but did not give them power to choose any new members, especially their Charter not being restored, which was their warrant to act by, they not knowing so much as where the said Charter is, all was over-ruled by noise and tumult. They took the paper where they were, to write down their votes, and carried it out of the Court; upon which the Mayor presently adjourning, two of the Aldermen went out, which made the others return into Court, and there give their votes; presently after, the following protestation was put into Mr Mayor's hand:—

Mr Mayor — “ We humbly conceive that the present choice of Mr Eldred to serve in the Convention is illegal, as to that part of it wherein the new electors are concerned; it being visible, that so long as we have no Charter to choose them by, they are unwarrantably chosen. For, tho' his Majesties proclamation restores us again to the same state we were in, in 79, and does qualifie them who were then actually chosen, it does

not appear to us, how, without the Charter being *actually* restor'd to us, which it is not at this present, the then electors can choose any new ones; so that their very choice is deficient in itself; and accordingly, we humbly solicit Sam. Pepys, Esq., to be return'd with Sir Thom. Middleton, K^t; protesting against the choice of the said M^r Eldred, and desiring withal that this our said protestation may be enter'd, and return'd to the Convention, to be there examin'd with our further allegations against the said election."

M^r Smith, the Town Clerk, took the said paper angrily; threaten'd a schoolmaster, whom he thought had copied it out, to imprison him; said it was a libel, flung it out of the Court, and proclaimed the said M^r Eldred duly chosen. As they carried him up and down in the streets, one Mr. John Wert-brown cry'd out "*No Tower men, no men, out of the Tower!*" which was echo'd by nobody; most of the freemen, and particularly the seamen, being wholly against such a choice, and declaring that, had they bin concerned in it, they would have chosen M^r Pepys.

This account is exactly true.

B.L. orig.]

Dr. Gale¹ to S. Pepys.

January, 1689-90, Thursday, 7 Morn^g.

Sir—Last night, at my returne, I found this letter, which, with the first opportunity, I thought it my duty to communicate to you.

Sir, I am your very humble Servant,

THOMAS GALE.

¹ Thomas Gale, D.D., was born at Scruton, in Yorkshire, and educated at Westminster School; from whence he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship, and became Greek professor of the University. In 1672 he was chosen High Master of St. Paul's School, which office he held for twenty-five years. In 1676 he was made a prebendary of St. Paul's, and, in 1697, advanced to the Deanery of York; but he enjoyed this dignity only a short time, dying April 8, 1702, æt. 67. He was a learned theologian,

Dr. Cumberland¹ to Dr. Gale.

(Enclosed in the above.)

Stamford, January 14th, 1689-90.

Honoured Sir — I have received both your letters of enquiry about Walcote House,² and I did not answer suddenly to your first, because you therein gave mee time to doe it at my leasure, and because, as to many particulars mentioned therein, I was not sufficiently informed. But your second letter, intimating your desire to hear what answer I can give, sooner than I imagined, hath induced me to hasten this account, though it bee very imperfect. I have been in the house several times while it was S^r H. Cholmely's, being acquainted both with him and his lady; but, being altogether unacquainted with Mr. Worthley, I never was in it since it came into his hands, though I have often rid by it. Its distance from our towne of Stamford is about two miles. The outward view of the house is very beautiful, being adorned with a large lanterne, as it were, on a cupola at the top and leads: the figure a regular oblong, and all the windows placed uniformly. All the inward rooms were not finisht when I was in it, but many were, and well adorned. I am informed it's much improved by M^r Worthley, both in the rooms and gardens; there is a wall both about the garden and other yards and enclosed ground. There are plentiful springs near it, but not much wood that I have taken notice of: those who are critical about the matter say the house is too large and good for the small estate in land which adjoines to it, and they add that an inward wall in it was ill-

skilled in history and archæology, and an excellent Greek scholar; the works which he published furnished evidence of his industry and talents. He also possessed a noble library, and a curious collection of MSS., which he bequeathed to his son Roger, well known as a zealous antiquary. — *Abridged from Knight's Life of Dean Colet.*

¹ Rector of All Saints, Stamford, and, in 1691, made Bishop of Peterborough.

² The house alluded to was built by Sir Hugh Cholmley about 1675, and sold by him to the Hon. Sidney Wortley Montague, who alienated it to the Noel family.

built, and hath crusht an arch therein, and thereby hath endangered to thrust out one of the outward walls, which is strengthened and secured by some buttresses. I guesse that your occasion of enquireing about it may bee in behalfe of some purchaser; wherefore, I advise that my imperfect knowledge and unskilfull judgment in a matter of such consequence be not trusted to, but that the person concern'd should trust his own eyes and skill, or employ a judicious surveyour. There are many outhouses about it, but how convenient cannot well be judged but by him that knows the wants or designses of him who is to dwell therein, and make use of the conveniences. The land about it is healthy, and most convenient for the pleasure of hunting. This is the best information I can give you at present. I hope to bee in London between Easter and Whitsunday, if not sooner, and there to have more opportunity of enjoying the benefit of your learned converse and skill in books. My residence in this place, so distant from the city, denies mee the opportunity of knowing books which I sometimes hear of and finde quoted, but cannot see, consult, or peruse: particularly in these late revolutions, I heare of the great Collection of the Elder English Historians, wherein you have befriended the world, but I have not seen the entire work, but some part of it onely. If I live to come to London, I shall entreat you to assist me in procuring some such books at the best hand. I hope you will excuse the freedome I use with you, for, because I greatly value your learneing, I presse forward into acquaintance with you, desiring ever to bee

Yours, &c.

RIC. CUMBERLAND.

C. orig.]

John Evelyn to S. Pepys.

August, 1690.

Sir—This hasty script is to acquaint you, that my Lord Bishop of St Asaph¹ will take it for an honour to be thought

¹ William Lloyd, successively Bishop of St. Asaph, Lichfield and Coventry, and Worcester. Ob. 1692.

able to give M^r Pepys any light in those mysteries you and I have discoursed of.¹ He would himself wait upon you, but I did not think it convenient to receive that compliment for you, at first. To-morrow his Lordship says, he eating no dinner, shall be alone, and ready to receive your commands, if it be seasonable to you. I suppose about 3 o'clock in the afternoon may be a convenient time for me to wait upon you to his Lordship, or what other sooner hour you appoint.

J. E.

The Lords in the Tower, and other prisoners, against whom there is no special matter chargeable, are to be freed upon bail. My Lord Clarendon is also within that qualification, as the Bishop tells me.

C.]

S. Pepys to the Gentlemen² who bailed him, upon his release from Prison.

October 15, 1690.

Being this day become once again a free man in every respect, I mean, but that of my obligation to you and the rest of my friends, to whom I stand indebted for my being so, I think it but a reasonable part of my duty to pay you and them my thanks for it in a body; but know not how otherwise to compass it, than by begging you, which I hereby do, to take your share with them and me here, to-morrow, of a piece of mutton, which is all I dare promise you, besides that of my being ever

Your most bounden and faithful humble Servant,

S. P.

C. orig.]

John Evelyn to S. Pepys.

Deptford, 7^{ber} 26, 1690. Morning.

Sir—*Si vales, bene est*, &c. Without more ceremony, then, and that my small excursion be no expediment to the perfecting

¹ The Apocalypse.

² Sir Peter Palavicini, Mr. James Houblon, Mr. Blackburne, and Mr. Martin.

your collection, — to the Queries. In the days of Queen Eliz., for before her time I hardly hear of any, came over one Crispin van de Pas; and in King James's, his brother Symon, who calls himself Passæus; and afterwards there came, and in Charles 1st's time, one Elstrack, Stock, De la Rem, and Miriam; and of our own countrymen, Cecil, Martin, Vaughan, and especially Jo. Paine, for I forbear to mention Marshal, Crosse, and some other lamentable fellows, who engraved the effigies of the noblemen, &c., then flourishing. These prints were sold by George Humble and Sudbury, at the Pope's Head in Cornhill; by Jenner at the Exchange; one Seager, I know not where, and Roger Daniel: but who had the most choice was Mr. Peake, near Holborn Conduit; and if there be any who can direct you where you may most likely hear what became of their plates and works of this kind, I believe nobody may so well inform you as Mr Faithorne, father to the bookseller, who, if I am not mistaken, was apprentice to Sir W^m Peake, for both he and Humble were made Knights, and therefore it may be worth your while to enquire of him. There came afterwards, you know, Lucas, Vosterman, Hollar, Lombart, and other excellent artists; but these were of later times, which you do not enquire of. They wrought after Vandyke, the Arundelian Collection, and best painters. And now of late the skilful in Mezzo-tinto masters, who for imitation of life, sometimes excel the *burin* itself ever so accurately handled. But of this enough:—I send you, Sir, my face, such as it was of yore, but is now so no more, *tanto mutata*; and with it, what you may find harder to procure, the Earl of Nottingham,¹ Lord High Admiral; which, though it make a gap in my poor Collection, to which it was glad, I most cheerfully bestow it upon you, and would accompany it with the other two, were I master of them. I have Sir George Villiers, when a youth and newly-dignified, in a small trifling print, not at all fit for you, who ought to have him when he was a Duke and Admiral; and of such there are many, easily to be had. I am sure

¹ Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham.

his picture is below several flattering dedications, though at present I do not well remember where. But this I do, that there is a Taille-douce of that mighty favourite, almost as big as the life, and nothing inferior to any of the famous Nanteuil's, graved by one Jacob, of Delft, in Holland, from a painting of Miereveld, that were well worth the sending even into Holland for, and for whatever else is of this kind, of that incomparable workman's hand. I have once seen it, and took this notice of it to mention it in a new edition of my Calographie, when I have leisure to revise that trifle. Lastly, as to my Lord Chancellor Hide, though I have not his effigies among the rest that I have huddled together, always presuming to get it of my Lord Clarendon, but perpetually forgetting to ask it, yet I can direct you where to come by it, and perhaps you have it already in your library; 'tis but enquiring where Sir W. Dugdale's History of the Lord Chancellors was printed, and there you will find him, and the rest of the Long Robe, if you have a mind to them. Have you been at M^r Baker's shop, near the old Exchange? Cannot M^r White furnish you? I am deceived if he has not graved most of the Chancellors since his Majesty's restoration.

Y^r most humble faithful Servant, J. EVELYN.

C.]

S. Pepys to W. Hewer.

December 23, 1695.

Mr. Hewer — I don't know how to let go what you observed to me yesterday, touching the late learned descant made by some of our Admirals upon the words at the bottom of my printed head, without telling you that I could be well contented Mr. Southerne were told, when next he comes in the way of Mr. Martin, that whatever reckoning I may make of his learning, I own too great an esteem for that of my Lord of Pembroke to think it possible for him to misplace upon me the honour of answering for a sentence so much above my ambition of fathoming, or the authority of any man else to censure, but he, if any such there be, that would be thought a Latinist,

orator, and philosopher, fit to stand up with Cicero, whose very words these are, in that excellent and most divine chapter, his *Somnium Scipionis*.

Tu vero enitere, et sic habeto, te non esse mortalem, sed Corpus hoc. Nec enim is est quem forma, ista declarat: sed mens cujusque is est quisque, non ea figura quæ digito monstrari potest.

A thought derived to him from Plato, and wrought upon after him by St. Paul.

I am, &c.,

S. PEPYS.

C. orig.]

The Bishop of London¹ to S. Pepys.

Decr. 1691.

Sir—When I tell you I write in behalf of an eminently honest man, I hope you will pardon more easily my importunity. The bearer, M. Nutt, though I have very little acquaintance with him, is one that I value highly for two actions of his life very unusual in this age.—When, upon the credit he had given King Charles II^d, he found himself sinking from an estate of 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* to nothing, he returned back to the value of 3,000*l.* of money just then put into his hands, telling his creditors that he was no longer responsible. His other action was more generous than this; for being called to witness the title of a gentleman who had not wherewithal to reward him, he being himself not worth a groat, he refused to keep back his evidence, though he was offered a considerable reward by the other party, which would have supported him all his life. Upon these merits it is that I would beg of you to use your interest with M^r Southerne,² to bestow some clerk's or other place upon him under the Admiralty, to get him bread. If it were my brother, I could not with more concern intreat you, in this particular, to oblige, Sir,

Y^r most obedient humble Serv^t,

H. LONDON.

¹ Henry Compton, translated from Oxford, 1675; ob. 1713.

² James Southerne, Clerk of the Acts, 1688, and in 1694 an Extra Commissioner of the Navy.

C.]

S. Pepys to John Evelyn.

January 9, 1691-2.

Sir—I would have come at you the other night at St. Martin's on that grievous occasion,¹ but could not. Nor would I have failed in attending you before, to have condoled the death of that great man, had I been for some time in a condition of going abroad. Pray let Dr. Gale, Mr. Newton, and myself, have the honour of your company to-day, forasmuch as Mr. Boyle being gone, we shall want your help in thinking of a man in England fit to be set up after him for our Peireskius,² besides Mr. Evelyn. I am sure I know what I think upon it and shall not spare to tell it you. A happy new year to you, from your faithful, obedient servant,

S. P.

C.]

S. Pepys to John Evelyn.

Easter Monday, 1692.

Sir—The last being Confession, this in all good conscience should be Restitution Week; and, as far as I am able, the first act of it shall be the acquitting myself honestly towards you, in reference to that vast treasure of papers³ which I have had of yours so many years in my hands, in hopes of that otium I have now for three years been master of, but on conditions easily to be guessed at, which have not allowed me the company of more of my papers than I was content to adventure being visited and disordered: and it is not above three weeks since I have taken the liberty of remanding any of them within my reach. Out of these I have made shift to collect all

¹ Mr. Boyle's funeral.

² Nicholas Peiresc, a type, in the opinion of many, of what a learned and accomplished man ought to be.

³ The papers, after all, were not returned, nor has the MS. "History of the Dutch War" ever been traced: it is not among the Rawlinson papers in the Bodleian Library. See Evelyn's "Diary," Introduction, p. xxviii. edit 1850.

that relate to the State concernment in the ministry of Sir R. Prowne, and those of your own growth towards the History of our Dutch War, 1665, which, with that which followed it in 1672, I wish I could see put together by your hand, as greatly suspecting they will prove the last instances of the sea actions of this nation, which will either bear telling at all, or be worthy of such an historian as Mr. Evelyn. Another piece of restitution I have to make you, is your Columna Trajani, which, out of a desire of making the most use of, with the greatest care to my eyes, I put out unfortunately to an unskilful hand, for the washing its prints with some thin stain to abate the too strong lustre of the paper: in the execution whereof part of it suffered so much injury, that not knowing with what countenance to return it, I determined upon making you amends by the first fair book I could meet with; but with so ill success, that notwithstanding all my industry, at auctions and otherwise, I have only been able to lay my eye on one, fair or foul, at Scott's, and that wholly wanting the historical part; Sir P. Lely, whose book it was, contenting himself with so much and no more, as touched the profession of a painter without that of a scholar. I have, therefore, thought it more religious to restore so great a jewel as your own book, even with this damage.

S. P.

C. orig.]

Gregory King, Lancaster Herald, to S. Pepys.

With an enclosure: see note.¹

Dresden, Febr'y 7, 1692-3.

Hon^d Sir—I should not forgive myself if I did not pay you the respect of a line or two, even at this distance. The

¹ Quoniam hujusmodi chronogrammata, ut dicam, hisce regionibus in usu sunt, quamvis non operæ pretium existimo, facultatem tamen meam explorare visum est.

1692. Johannes GeorgIVs QVartVs ELecCtor SaXonIæ OrDine GarterI PresDæ InVestItVs.

1692. Per NobILEs VIros GVL. DVtton CoLt EqVit. AVr. et Greg.

Gazette by this time will inform you of the ceremony of investing His Electoral Highness of Saxony, John George the 4th, with the Order of the Garter, in the Great Hall here, called Atrium Gigantum, on Thursday, Jan^y 26, 1692. To which I will only add, that the Elector is highly pleased with the Order, which he has not only testified by the noble presents he has made to the Commissioners and all their Retinue, but by the perfect good humour he has shown ever since, and by his bestowing upon Sir William Colt, my Colleague, the Badge of Sincerity, a kind of Order established by the 2 Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony a year or two ago, which he took from his own arm and put upon Sir William's, being worn in nature of a bracelet: it is an enamelled jewel, of an oval form, about an inch long, wherein is enamelled 2 hands in armour, with this motto — *Uni à jamais*, and on the other, *Amitié sincère*. “The first motto,” said the Elector, upon giving it to Sir William, “is for the King and myself, the next is for you and I.” I will give you a draft of it at my return; the ornament is only four diamonds on the outside. The day after the ceremony was a famous tilting, 30 on a side, all gentlemen of 8 descents, and the day after that were most noble fireworks. The next day, being Sunday, the 26th, we had audience of leave, and Sir William presently after delivered new credentials as Envoy. We dined with the Elector that day, and he told me he would give me my passport for England, which he did. The next day we were carried to see the strong fortress of Königstein, about 16 or 18 miles from hence, upon the frontiers of Bohemia, and returned the next day and dined at the Elector's charge, as we did from the time of our first audience, being attended by several gentlemen, and the Elector's pages and footmen: since which we are upon our own account. Yesterday we were shown the arsenal, the armoury, where

KIng, FeCiaL. LanCaster. AngLIæ RegIs Vt et RegInæ Legatos et DepV-
tatos.

1692. DIe JoVis VICesIMo SeXto JanVarII, VeterI StyLo, In AtrIo
GIgant. GR. KING.

there are 36 chambers for that purpose, and then the 7 chambers of rarities, all highly worth seeing, besides the stables. On Thursday next is a masquerade in boor's habits, 30 ladies and gentlemen, and among them the Elector and Electrice, and on Friday a magnificent opera, all in honour of the Order; after which I return with all diligence to England, and shall long to kiss your hands, and to assure you how truly I am,

Y^r most obed^t Serv^t,

GRE^{AT} KING.

C. orig.]

John Evelyn to S. Pepys.

Wotton, August, 1692.

I have been philosophizing and world-despising in the solitudes of this place, whither I am retired* to pass and mourn the absence of my worthiest friend. Here is wood and water, meadows and mountains, the Dryads and Hamadryads; but here's no Mr Pepys, no Dr Gale. Nothing of all the cheer in the parlour that I taste; all's insipid, and all will be so to me, till I see and enjoy you again. I long to know what you do, and what you think, because I am certain you do both what is worthy the knowing and imitation. On Mondy next will Mr Bentley resume his lecture, I think, at Bow Church: I fear I shall hardly get through this wilderness by that time. Pray give him your wonted confidence if you can, and tell him how unhappily I am entangled. I hope, however, to get home within this fortnight, and about the end of October to my hyemation in Dover-street. My son is gone with the Lord Lieutenant, and our new relation, Sir Cyril Wych,¹ into Ireland: I look they should return wondrous Statesmen, or else they had as well have stayed at home. I am here with Boccalini,² and Erasmus's Praise of Folly, and look down upon

¹ Who had married for his third wife Evelyn's niece Elizabeth, daughter of George Evelyn of Wotton. Sir Cyril was so named after his godfather, the Patriarch of Constantinople, where he was born.

² Author of "Il Pietro Paragone," or Political Touchstone.

the world with wondrous contempt, when I consider for what we keep such a mighty bustle. *O fortunate* Mr Pepys! who knows, possesses, and enjoys all that's worth the seeking after. Let me live among your inclinations, and I shall be happy.

J. EVELYN.

C.]

S. Pepys to Isaac Newton.

November 22, 1693.

Sir — However this comes accompanied to you with a little trouble, yet I cannot but say, that the occasion is welcome to me, in that it gives me an opportunity of telling you that I continue sensible of my obligations to you, most desirous of rendering you service in whatever you shall think me able, and no less afflicted when I hear of your being in town, without knowing how to wait on you till it be too late for me to do it. This said, and with great truth and respect, I go on to tell you that the bearer, Mr. Smith, is one I bear great goodwill to, no less for what I personally know of his general ingenuity, industry, and virtue, than for the general reputation he has in this town, inferior to none, but superior to most, for his mastery in the two points of his profession; namely, fair writing, and arithmetic, so far, principally, as is subservient to account-antship. Now, so it is, that the late project, of which you cannot but have heard, of Mr. Neale, the Groom-Porter's lottery, has almost extinguished for some time, at all places of public conversation in this town, especially among men of numbers, every other talk but what relates to the doctrine of determining between the true proportion of the hazards incident to this or that given chance or lot. On this occasion, it has fallen out that this gentleman is become concerned, more than in jest, to compass a solution that may be relied upon beyond what his modesty will suffer him to think his own alone, or any less than Mr. Newton's, to be, to a question which he takes a journey on purpose to attend you with, and prayed my giving him this introduction to you to that purpose, which, not in common friendship only, but as due to his so

earnest application after truth, though in a matter of speculation alone, I cannot deny him; and therefore trust you will forgive me in it, and the trouble I desire you to bear, at my instance, of giving him your decision upon it, and the process of your coming at it: wherein I shall esteem myself on his behalf greatly owing to you, and remain,

Honoured Sir, your most humble,
And most affectionate and faithful Servant,

S. P.

C. orig.]

Isaac Newton to S. Pepys.

Cambridge, Novbr 26, 1693.

Sr—I was very glad to hear of your good health by Mr Smith, and to have any opportunity given me of showing how ready I should be to serve you or your friends upon any occasion, and wish that something of greater moment would give me a new opportunity of doing it, so as to become more useful to you than in solving only a mathematical question. In reading the question, it seemed to me at first to be ill stated; and in examining Mr Smith about the meaning of some phrases in it, he put the case of the question the same as if A played with six dice till he threw a six; and then B threw as often with twelve, and C with eighteen, the one for twice as many, the other for thrice as many, sixes. To examine who had the advantage, I took the case of A throwing with one dice, and B with two—the former till he threw a six, the latter as often for two sixes; and found that A had the advantage. But whether A will have the advantage when he throws with six, and B with twelve dice, I cannot tell; for the number of dice may alter the proportion of the chances considerably, and I did not compute it in this case, the problem being a very hard one. And, indeed, upon reading the question anew, I found that these cases do not come within the question; for here an advantage is given to A by his throwing first till he throws a six: whereas, the question requires, that they throw upon equal luck, and by consequence that no advantage be given to any one by throwing

first. The question is this: A has six dice in a box, with which he is to fling a six; B has in another box twelve dice, with which he is to fling two sixes; C has in another box eighteen dice, with which he is to fling three sixes. Q^y, whether B and C have not as easy a task as A at even luck? If this last question must be understood according to the plainest sense of the words, I think that sense must be this:

1st. Because A, B, and C, are to throw upon even luck, there must be no advantage of luck given to any of them by throwing first or last, by making anything depend upon the throw of any one, which does not equally depend on the throws of the other two: and, therefore, to bar all inequality of luck on these accounts, I would understand the question as if A, B, and C, were to throw all at the same time.

2^{dly}. I take the most proper and obvious meaning of the words of the question to be, that when A flings more sixes than one, he flings a six, as well as when he flings but a single six, and so gains his expectation: and so, when B flings more sixes than two, and C more than three, they gain their expectations. But if B throw under two sixes, and C under three, they miss their expectations; because, in the question, 'tis expressed that B is to throw two, and C three sixes.

3^{dly}. Because each man has his dice in a box, ready to throw, and the question is put upon the chances of that throw, without naming any more throws than that. I take the question to be the same as if it had been put thus upon single throws.

What is the expectation or hope of A to throw every time one six, at least, with six dice?

What is the expectation or hope of B to throw every time two sixes, at least, with twelve dice?

What is the expectation or hope of C to throw every time three sixes, or more than three, with eighteen dice?

And whether has not B and C as great an expectation or hope to hit every time what they throw for, as A hath to hit what he throws for?

If the question be thus stated, it appears, by an easy com-

putation, that the expectation of A is greater than that of B or C; that is, the task of A is the easiest: and the reason is, because A has all the chances on sixes on his dice for his expectation, but B and C have not all the chances upon theirs; for, when B throws a single six, or C but one or two sixes, they miss of their expectations. This Mr Smith understands, and therefore allows that, if the question be understood as I have stated it, then B and C have not so easy a task as A; but he seems of opinion, that the question should be so stated, that B and C, as well as A, may have all the chances of sixes on their dice within their expectations. I do not see that the words of the question, as 'tis set down in your letter, will admit it; but this being no mathematical question, but a question what is the true mathematical question, it belongs not to me to determine it. I have contented myself, therefore, to set down how in my opinion, the question, according to the most obvious and proper meaning of the words, is to be understood; and that, if this be the true state of the question, then B and C have not so easy a task as A: but, whether I have hit the true meaning of the question, I must submit to the better judgment of yourself and others. If you desire the computation, I will send it you.

I am, Sir,

Y^r most humble and obedient Servant,

IS. NEWTON.

Isaac Newton to S. Pepys.

Cambridge, Decr 16, 1693.

Sir—In stating the case of the wager, you seem to have exactly the same notion of it with me; and to the question, Which of the three chances should Peter chuse, were he to have but one throw for his life? I answer, that if I were Peter, I would chuse the first. To give you the computation upon which this answer is grounded, I would state the question thus:—

A hath six dice in a box with which he is to fling at least one six, for a wager laid with R.

B hath twelve dice in another box, with which he is to fling at least two sixes, for a wager laid with S.

C hath eighteen dice in another box, with which he is to fling at least three sixes, for a wager laid with T.

The stakes of R, S, and T, are equal; what ought A, B, and C, to stake, that the parties may play upon equal advantage?

To compute this, I set down the following progressions of numbers:—

Progr. 1.	1	2	3	4	5	6	the number of the dice.
Progr. 2.	0	1	3	6	10	15	
Progr. 3.	6	36	216	1296	7776	46656	{ the number of all the chances upon them.
Progr. 4.	5	25	125	625	3125	15625	{ the number of chances without sixes.
Progr. 5.	1	5	25	125	625	3125	
Progr. 6.	1	10	75	500	3125	18750	{ chances for one six and no more.
Progr. 7.		1	5	25	125	625	
Progr. 8.		1	15	150	1250	9375	{ chances for two sixes and no more.

The progressions in this table are thus found: the first progression, which expresses the number of the dice, is an arithmetical one; viz., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, &c.; the second is found, by adding to every term, the term of the progression above it; viz., $0+1=1$, $1+2=3$, $3+3=6$, $6+4=10$, $10+5=15$, &c.; the third progression, which expresses the number of all the chances upon the dice, is found by multiplying the number 6 into itself continually; and the fourth, fifth, and seventh, are found by multiplying the number 5 into itself continually; the sixth is found by multiplying the terms of the first and fifth; viz., $1 \times 1=1$, $2 \times 5=10$, $3 \times 25=75$, $4 \times 125=500$, &c.; and the eighth is found by multiplying the terms of the second and seventh; viz., $1 \times 1=1$, $3 \times 5=15$, $6 \times 25=150$, $10 \times 125=1250$, &c.; and by these rules the progressions may be continued on to as many dice as you please.

Now, since A plays with six dice, to know what he and R ought to stake, I consult the numbers in the column under six,

and there, from 46656, the number of all the chances upon those dice, expressed in the third progression, I subduct 15625, the number of all the chances without a six, expressed in the fourth and the remainder, 31031, is the number of all the chances, with one six or above: therefore the stake of A must be the stake of R, upon equal advantage, as 31031 to 15625, or $\frac{31031}{15625}$ to 1; for their stakes must be as their expectations, that is, as the number of chances which make for them. In like manner, if you would know what B and S ought to stake upon twelve dice, produce the progressions to the column of twelve dice, and the sum of the numbers in the fourth and sixth progressions; viz., $244140625 + 585937500 = 830078125$, will be the number of chances for S; and this number, subducted from the number of all the chances in the third progression, viz., 2176782336, will leave 1346704211, the number of chances for B: therefore the stake of B would be to the stake of S, as 1346704211 to 830078125, or $\frac{1346704211}{830078125}$ to 1. And so, by producing the progressions to the number of eighteen dice, and taking the sum of the numbers in the fourth, sixth, and eighth progressions for the number of the chances for T, and the difference between this number and that in the third column for the number of the chances for C, you will have the proportion of their stakes upon equal advantage. And thence it will appear that, when the stakes of R, S, and T, are units, suppose one pound or one guinea, and by consequence equal, the stake of A must be greater than that of B, and that of B greater than that of C; and, therefore, A has the greatest expectation. The question might have been thus stated, and answered in fewer words: if Peter is to have but one throw for a stake of 1000*l.*, and has his choice of throwing either one six at least upon six dice, or two at least upon twelve, or three at least upon eighteen, which throw ought he to chuse; and of what value is his chance or expectation upon every throw, were he to sell it? Answer: Upon six dice there are 46656 chances, whereof 31031 are for him; upon twelve, there are 2176782336 chances, whereof 1346704211 are for him: therefore, his chance or expectation is worth the $\frac{31031}{46656}$ ^{1th} part of 1000*l.* in the first

case, and the $\frac{1346704211}{2178782336}$ th part of 1000*l.* in the second; that is, 665*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* in the first case, and 618*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in the second. In the third case, the value will be found still less. This, I think, Sir, is what you desired me to give you an account of; and if there be any thing further, you may command

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

IS. NEWTON.

